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The Defeat of James A. Bayard, 1802

By MORTON BORDEN *

"THERE is very little pleasure, my friend, in Washington," wrote James A. Bayard to his friend Caesar A. Rodney in March of 1802.¹ Congressional affairs dragged on after the repeal of the judiciary act, tedious, boring, seemingly endless. Ann Bayard, James' wife, was ill with the measles and confined to her room for a month. When she recovered, their daughter Caroline became ill, having acquired the disease from her mother.² Homesick for Delaware, tired of monotonous Washington, desiring to devote more time to legal activities, disgusted with the ceaseless spread of Republicanism, Bayard toyed with the idea of retiring from politics. "... nothing detains me here," he wrote to Rodney, "but a sense of the impropriety of leaving . . . [Delaware] without representation on the floor of the House."³

The Delawarean's experiences in Congress during the first session of the Seventh Congress confirmed his attitude of despair, of hopelessness in fighting against the Republican juggernaut. He debated strenuously, along with Roger Griswold of Connecticut, against the repeal of certain internal taxes. It was

* Dr. Morton Borden is a member of the Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. His studies, published in *Delaware History*, of the elder Bayard—in defeat in 1802, in the election of 1800, and Bayard's interpretation of the role of a civil officer—are also chapters in his forthcoming work, *The Federalism of James A. Bayard*, to be published by the Columbia University Press, in 1955.

¹ Bayard to Rodney, Mar. 14, 1802, Bayard Papers (Historical Society of Delaware).

² Bayard to Richard Bassett, Mar. 3, 8, 10, 13, 17, Apr. 19, 1802, quoted in Elizabeth Donnan (ed.), *Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796-1815* (Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1913 [Washington, 1915]), II, 150-53. Hereafter cited as Donnan, *Bayard Papers*; Bayard to Mary Bassett, Mar. 1, 5, 1802, Thomas Bayard Papers (Library of Congress).

³ Bayard to Rodney, Mar. 31, 1802, quoted in Henry C. Conrad (ed.), *Letters of James Ashton Bayard, 1802-1814* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 31 [Wilmington, 1901]), pp. 3-4. Hereafter cited as Conrad, *Bayard Letters*.

to no avail; the majority party easily passed its bill.⁴ "We are going on," wrote a Federalist, Manasseh Cutler, "in the work of destruction."⁵ Defeat also marked Bayard's other efforts—the lower House postponed his resolution to cancel certain Revolutionary War debts owed by Delaware to the national government⁶ and voted down eight consecutive motions he proposed to change Albert Gallatin's plan to pay the United States debt.⁷ On these party issues the Federalists were a hopeless minority, a levee swamped by the flood waters of Republicanism. Only a hope that the flood would recede kept the Federalists from abandoning their efforts. As Bayard told Alexander Hamilton, it was a Republican era, and only the inevitable mistakes of the administration, resulting in a "vibration of opinion," could bring the Federalists back to power.⁸

After Bayard's return to Delaware in April, 1802—with his term of office rapidly drawing to a close, and another election to be faced—he must decide to continue or to cease his political career. The next congressional election, furthermore, would be a much more difficult fight for the Federalists. Their easy successes in 1798 and 1800 would not be repeated. In the gubernatorial election of 1801, a particularly bitter battle between the two parties, the Republicans finally won a victory. The Federalists, as had been expected, captured the lower counties of Kent and Sussex; but the Republican majority in commercial New Castle County offset this lead by a scarce nineteen votes. "This,"

⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1003, 1007-8, 1012-14.

⁵ Cutler to Mrs. Torrey, Mar. 22, 1802, quoted in William P. Cutler, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1888), II, 99.

⁶ On this topic, see Albert S. Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States from 1789-1860* (New York, 1883), pp. 29-30; Roscoe H. Hill (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1936), XXXII, 358-59; Duc de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America* (London, 1799), II, 271; Diary of Thomas Rodney, Jan. 10, 1797, Rodney Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania); Diary of Thomas Rodney, Dec. 31, 1799, Rodney Papers (Library of Congress); Henry Latimer to Richard Bassett, Feb. 14, 1801, Dreer Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania); *Annals of Congress*, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 498-99. For Bayard's earlier attempts to have this debt cancelled, see *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 2185-86; 5th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 2820; 6th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 1039-40.

⁷ *Annals of Congress*, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1181-90.

⁸ Bayard to Hamilton, Apr. 25, 1802, quoted in John C. Hamilton (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1950-51), VI, 543-45.

Rodney noted to James Madison, "is a strong proof of our increase [of strength]." ⁹ Rodney kept up a steady stream of correspondence with Madison and Jefferson during these months, informing them of the change of feelings, observable especially in the middle county of Kent, to Republicanism.¹⁰ Yet, wrote Rodney, whomever the Republicans might select as their candidate for Congress, "... the ... election will be a severe one should Bayard stand." ¹¹

The Philadelphia *Aurora*, on May 27, 1802, chided Bayard for his wish to resign from political life. He "... begins to think with his compeer [Robert Goodloe] Harper, that it will be prudent to retire from Congress [for] a few years." ¹² But a fortnight before this, Rodney had written to Jefferson that "... Bayard ... contrary to his former declarations and intentions, will stand a poll." ¹³ Bayard decided to run for public office, at the eager and insistent demand of his fellow Federalists, because he realized that no other member of his party in Delaware was capable of besting the candidate selected by the Republicans—Caesar A. Rodney.

Rodney, five years Bayard's junior, was thirty years of age in 1802. A native Delawarean, he had studied law under Joseph McKean, of Philadelphia, and served in Delaware's House of Representatives from 1796-1802.¹⁴ For years Rodney and Bayard had been the closest of friends. Despite their competition in legal circles and antagonistic political beliefs, their friendship endured unabated throughout their lives. Bayard became

⁹ Rodney to Madison, Oct. 5, 1801, Madison Papers (Library of Congress). For this election, see also John Fisher to Rodney, Sept. 16, 1801; Nehemiah Tilton to Rodney, Sept. 30, 1801; and William McKee to Rodney, Oct. 16, 1801 (Historical Society of Delaware); Rodney to Jefferson, Aug. 11, Dec. 27, 1801, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress); Rodney to Madison, Oct. 29, 1801, Madison Papers (New York Public Library); Aaron Burr to Rodney, Oct. 18, 1801, Rodney Papers (New York Public Library).

¹⁰ Rodney to Madison, Dec. 20, 25, 1801, Jan. 18, 1802, Madison Papers (Library of Congress); Rodney to Jefferson, Apr. 30, May 16, 31, June 19, 21, 28, Aug. 25, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress). Much of this correspondence had to do with the question of retaining or firing Allan McLane, Collector of the Port, at Wilmington.

¹¹ Rodney to Joseph Nicholson, Jan. 31, 1802, Nicholson Papers (Library of Congress).

¹² *Aurora* (Philadelphia), May 27, 1802.

¹³ Rodney to Jefferson, May 16, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

¹⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography*.

acquainted with Rodney, apparently, soon after moving to Delaware, when the two followed the legal circuit through the state, "... the campaign of the law."¹⁵ Their friendship, indeed, was an amazing phenomenon in an age of violent, sharp, and bitter partisanship. Bayard's father-in-law, Richard Bassett, for example, and Caesar's father, Colonel Thomas Rodney, loathed one another. This animosity stemmed from their antithetical attitudes regarding people and government. Once, in 1796, when the Colonel visited Bassett, John Fisher thought that "Some violation of the laws of nature is certainly about to happen."¹⁶ These political enmities sometimes slightly strained but never seriously interfered with the friendship of Bayard and Caesar A. Rodney. When Bayard defended the Alien and Sedition Acts on the floor of Congress, Rodney spoke from the stump at meetings called by the Republicans to oppose these measures.¹⁷ When Bayard voted for Burr rather than Jefferson in the House of Representatives in February, 1801, Rodney was "... vastly disappointed ... [in] my friend Bayard and very much mortified at his conduct. ..."¹⁸ Yet, on June 13, 1801, during a period of extreme political bitterness in Delaware, John Vaughan reported to Jefferson: "I called on Mr Rodney ... but he has gone on a pleasure excursion with Mr Bayard."¹⁹

Rodney had no particular desire to run for Congress in 1802 against Bayard (although he accepted the nomination before Bayard decided to campaign once again). Financially, since Rodney had a large family, it would mean a decrease in income which he could ill afford. Nor could he look forward eagerly to living in Washington, especially after Bayard's letters

¹⁵ The phrase is from Bayard to Andrew Bayard, Dec. 27, 1802, quoted in Donnan, *Bayard Papers*, pp. 155-56; James Rivington to Caesar A. Rodney, June 7, 1797, Rodney Papers (New York Public Library), billing Rodney for twelve volumes of law books sent to him five years previously via James Bayard; Bayard to "whom it may concern," July 15, 1800, Bayard Papers (Historical Society of Delaware), a letter of introduction for Rodney.

¹⁶ John Fisher to Rodney, Jan. 28, 1796, Fisher Papers (Historical Society of Delaware).

¹⁷ *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 20, 1799.

¹⁸ Rodney to Nicholson, Feb. 17, 1801, Nicholson Papers (Library of Congress). Bayard, of course, changed his vote. See this author's "The Election of 1800: Charge and Countercharge," *Delaware History* (March, 1952), V, 42-62.

¹⁹ John Vaughan to Jefferson, July 13, 1801, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

about that city. Besides, Bayard was his closest friend, and a political fight might endanger their relationship. But when Jefferson himself asked Rodney to run for Congress in order "... to get rid of B[ayard]," and when Republicans throughout Delaware, "... some of whom," said Rodney, "I was rather surprised at," begged him to accept the Republican candidature, Rodney acquiesced.²⁰ "At this crisis, at every hazzard," he promised Jefferson, "I shall maintain the part assigned to me and relinquish it only with my life."²¹

The contest was a severe one and attracted interest far beyond the state of Delaware, one of the few remaining strongholds of Federalism. Rodney had asked Jefferson to send him the congressional journals from the date of his rival's entrance to Congress for the purpose of denouncing and rebutting Bayard's speeches.²² Rodney wrote a pamphlet based on his examination of the journals; statements, culled from these speeches, were printed in the Republican newspapers, with augmentations designed to point up their fallaciousness.²³ Bayard had said, for example, in explaining his motivations for supporting internal taxes, that "We participate not, nor expect to participate, in the loaves and fishes." Rodney, therefore, anonymously contributed to the newspapers a long list of offices in Delaware, all of which were held by Federalists.²⁴

The Philadelphia *Aurora* denied Bayard's popularity among Delaware Federalists. "He is too lordly in his manners. He never was to obtain a seat in the state legislature although he was a candidate for several years successively. He was elected to congress by the mere force of party."²⁵ The same paper, a

²⁰ The first quote is from the diary of Thomas Rodney, Apr. 29, 1802, Rodney Papers (Historical Society of Delaware), commenting on a letter his son had received from Jefferson; the second is from Caesar A. Rodney to Jefferson, Apr. 30, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

²¹ Rodney to Jefferson, May 16, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Although this pamphlet seems to be missing today, Rodney sent a copy to Jefferson; see Rodney to Jefferson, Oct. 6, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

²⁴ *Aurora*, June 26, 1802, a reprint from the *Wilmington Mirror of the Times*. Rodney mentioned that he was the author of this piece in a letter to Jefferson, June 19, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

²⁵ *Aurora*, July 6, 1802. This also was reprinted from the *Wilmington Mirror* and may have been written by Rodney.

few weeks later, minimized the applause Bayard had received for his congressional speeches. His supporters, said the *Aurora*, could have “. . . spared [us] the hyperbolical assumption . . . [of Bayard’s] ‘well-earned and honest fame’—that fame ranges on the same shelf with [Robert Goodloe] Harper and [Theodore] Sedgwick.”²⁶ The *National Intelligencer* noted that Bayard, while preaching a doctrine of nationalism, cared “. . . nothing for other states,” and adopted an extremely limited view on issues of universal concern.²⁷

Federalists, in answer, said that the Delawarean alone had “. . . more talents . . . than are embraced in the whole democratic representation of whites and blacks in Virginia.”²⁸ Bayard himself emphasized the presence of a Virginia faction which controlled the national government and ran roughshod over the rights and desires of smaller states, such as Delaware. He pointed to his congressional activities—the attempt to extinguish the state’s Revolutionary War debt to the United States and to gain two representatives for Delaware—as illustrations of his local patriotism.²⁹ Jefferson, according to the Federalists, feared Bayard, and had been instrumental in persuading Rodney to run against their congressional minority leader. They intimated, furthermore, that Rodney was promised a reward for these efforts by the chief executive.³⁰ So strong were these rumors that Rodney was asked to make an official repudiation of them.³¹

Federalists were confident that they would win the election. “Our friends in Delaware and Maryland form high expectations of success,” reported Theodore Sedgwick, “. . . but except as to Mr. Bayard, I have but little reason to confide in their calculations.”³² The Philadelphia *Aurora*, on the other hand, contained many predictions of Bayard’s downfall. On June 16,

²⁶ *Aurora*, July 21, 1802.

²⁷ *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), July 12, 1802.

²⁸ *Washington* [D. C.] *Federalist*, July 30, 1802.

²⁹ Rodney to Jefferson, May 16, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

³⁰ *Washington Federalist*, July 30, 1802.

³¹ James Wilson to Rodney, Aug. 22, 1802, Rodney Papers (Historical Society of Delaware).

³² Sedgwick to Rufus King, Aug. 24, 1802, King Papers (New York Historical Society).

he was referred to ". . . as a lost mutton."³³ On July 6, the same paper stated: "There appears to be not a shadow of a doubt, but that Mr Rodney will be elected by a considerable majority."³⁴ And, on July 21, the *Aurora* spoke of Bayard's enforced retirement ". . . to private life along with his father in law, the ci-devant judge Bassett."³⁵ Electioneering was heated and vigorous.³⁶ In the last ten days Rodney became ill and could not campaign.³⁷ Bayard was concerned about Ann, who had gone to Bohemia Manor (estate of the Bayards in Maryland), and there given birth to a third son.³⁸

New Castle County voted on October 6 and, as anticipated, gave Rodney a majority of 957 votes. The Kent polls, completed on the following day, gave Bayard a triumph of 219 votes. Since this amount was four times as large as previous Federalist victories in Kent, the outlook appeared to be unfavorable to Rodney, who, after the New Castle and Kent polls came in, believed the election ". . . somewhat uncertain."³⁹ The final results, bound to be close, depended on whether Bayard's majority in Sussex could, when added to his Kent supremacy, countervail Rodney's predominance in New Castle. On October 9, the final results were tabulated and published: Bayard had won Sussex by 723 votes, not enough to outweigh Rodney's lead. Rodney had won the election by fifteen votes!⁴⁰

"The Democracy of Delaware has done its utmost," wrote Samuel White to Outerbridge Horsey, two Federalist friends of Bayard. "It has trampled on tallents [*sic*] and merriit [*sic*] and disgraced our own State . . . the irishmen of N[ew] C[astle] are to govern Kent and Sussex."⁴¹ Republicans were jubilant.

³³ *Aurora*, June 16, 1802.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1802.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1802.

³⁶ James Wilson to Darlington, Aug. 20, 1802, Darlington Papers (Library of Congress).

³⁷ Rodney to Jefferson, Oct. 6, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

³⁸ Miss Ann Garnett to Miss Ann Ridgely, Oct. 1, 1802, Ridgely Papers (Delaware State Archives, Dover, Delaware).

³⁹ Rodney to Jefferson, Oct. 6, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress). This letter, begun on Oct. 6, was continued until Oct. 9, when the final vote was certain, and then mailed.

⁴⁰ *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 15, 1802, for complete listing of votes.

⁴¹ White to Horsey, Oct. 8, 1802, quoted in C. H. B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 309.

From New York Edward Livingston wrote to Rodney, tendering his congratulations. "The great political importance of your opponent with his own party, and the hitherto federal character of your representation," said Livingston, "renders this event a very striking and important one."⁴² Jefferson, from Monticello, rejoiced to Rodney, "... at your substitution for that of your predecessor."⁴³ John Randolph, soon after arriving in Washington for the second session of the Seventh Congress, complimented Rodney for being "... so good as to excuse Mr B[ayard] from the honor of serving in the H[ouse] of R[epresentatives]."⁴⁴ The Republican newspapers repeated this note of exultation for months. The anti-Federalists of Delaware, reported the *Aurora*, sang a humorous "... parody of 'who killed Cock Robin,' " by substituting the words "'who was it killed Goliah!'"⁴⁵ The same paper, four days later, expressed its gratification that "John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Richard Bassett, and James Bayard, are no longer honorable gentlemen [but] ceasing to be honorable, they became simple citizens."⁴⁶ When news arrived from Massachusetts of the defeat of Timothy Pickering and John Quincy Adams, both of whom ran for Congress in 1802, the Republican papers could not control their elation. "We recommend," stated the *Aurora*, "... [placing] the Heir Apparent of Braintree, with the Chevalier Bayard, in the Senate; . . . as these gentlemen are fond of the aristocratic Branch, they may find themselves—at home!"⁴⁷ And the *National Intelligencer*, always a trifle more sedate, foretold the obliteration of Federalism in the defeats that party suffered in Delaware and Massachusetts.⁴⁸

Bayard was unhappy, not for himself, but for his party. He

⁴² Livingston to Rodney, Oct. 22, 1802, Rodney Papers (New York Public Library).

⁴³ Jefferson to Rodney, Nov. 28, 1802, Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

⁴⁴ Randolph to Rodney, Jan. 4, 1803, Randolph Papers (Library of Congress); for this election, see also John A. Munroe, "Delaware in the Revolutionary Era, 1775-1815" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1947), pp. 397-400; William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 233.

⁴⁵ *Aurora*, Oct. 9, 1802.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1802.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1802. Adams, strangely enough, had lost the election to William Eustis by only 59 votes. Both Adams and Pickering, as well as Bayard, were later appointed to the United States Senate.

⁴⁸ *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 12, 1802.

had been dissatisfied with political life, he had wanted to retire, and only "... a desire to facilitate the exertions of the Federalists ..." persuaded him to stand for re-election.⁴⁹ "Were I desirous of remaining in public life," he wrote to his cousin Andrew, "our Majority in the [state] Legislature could render a place in the [United States] Senate perfectly secure."⁵⁰ But it was a Republican era, and the people "... must be left to feel the evils now generating," before a return to public life was worthwhile.⁵¹ Nearing the pinnacle of party leadership, famous for his speeches and strategy in the Seventh Congress, Bayard was the last important Federalist leader to fall by the political wayside.

There was, yet, one more session of Congress for Bayard to attend before Rodney assumed his seat. During the campaign, and shortly thereafter, no communications seem to have passed between the two. But when Rodney undertook his congressional duties in December, 1803, he wrote once again to Bayard. And the latter, now "... employed in the homely drudgery of making money," reaffirmed their friendship and offered his hope of success to Rodney:

The course of things forced us into a competition in which the successful Party was to be the loser. Tho' I do not like your politicks, yet I should be much gratified that by some extraordinary event your interest was really promoted. I fear that the Virginia pride will never truly appreciate a Delaware Character. If they do any thing for you I will forgive your folly for going into public life. ... In spite of your politicks, I can't help liking you. ...⁵²

If Rodney needed any proof of Bayard's sincerity in these remarks, he received them from his father. Colonel Thomas Rodney, then a federal judge in the Mississippi Territory, told his son of an incident which had occurred during Bayard's attendance at the second session of the Seventh Congress. The latter was being chided by several Federalists for his defeat by

⁴⁹ Bayard to Andrew Bayard, Nov. 8, 1802, quoted in Donnan, *Bayard Letters*, pp. 154-55.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Bayard to Rodney, Dec. 10, 1803, quoted in Conrad, *Bayard Letters*, pp. 6-7.

Rodney. " Bayard repelled their Tantalizing," wrote Thomas Rodney, " by Saying ' That Delaware would loose [*sic*] nothing by the Change, for C[æsar] A. Rodney was as competent to Represent the State as any Man in it and perhaps as Competent as any Man in Congress.' " ⁵³

⁵³ Thomas Rodney to Caesar A. Rodney, Dec. 28, 1803, Rodney Papers (Library of Congress).

The Norris-Fisher Correspondence: A Circle of Friends, 1779-82

Edited by

JOHN A. H. SWEENEY *

AMONG the Corbit-Higgins-Spruance Papers at the Historical Society of Delaware is a small group of letters addressed to Sally Fisher of Duck Creek Cross-Roads. These letters were written to Sally Fisher between 1779 and 1782 by her cousin Sally Fisher, of Philadelphia, and two friends, Deborah Norris and Sally Zane, and reveal to us many sidelights of the activities of eighteenth-century "Philadelphawareans."¹ One of the most striking facts reflected in the letters is the extensive travel on the part of colonial Delawareans and the constant communication between Philadelphia and the Lower Counties. The influence which Philadelphia exerted over the surrounding territory in rural Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, was continuously reinforced by a number of ties which are illustrated in this group of twenty-one letters.

The primary tie between city and county was that of blood relationships, and the Fishers, Mifflins, and Dickinsons were typical of families who claimed a city branch in Philadelphia and a country branch somewhere in the Lower Counties. Of equal importance was the economic tie. Deborah Norris referred

* John A. H. Sweeney was a member of the first class to receive the degree of Master of Arts in the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture at the University of Delaware in 1954. He is now curatorial assistant on the staff of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

¹ Dr. John A. Munroe has fully outlined this relationship in his article, "The Philadelphawareans: A Study in the Relations Between Philadelphia and Delaware in the Late Eighteenth Century." See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIX (1945), pp. 128-49.

to Philadelphia as a metropolis, and indeed it was, for the city provided a market for the products of the rich grain fields of the Delmarva Peninsula and served also as the shipping point from which Delaware wheat was sent abroad. In turn, Philadelphia was a source of consumer goods for the inhabitants of the Lower Countries, as evidenced in these letters when Sarah Fisher, of Philadelphia, mentioned that she had bought mitts, bonnets, and tea for her cousin at Duck Creek, eighty miles away. Often the ties were purely social, for among those with leisure time, it was not unusual to spend the winter in Virginia or to go from Kent County to Philadelphia for several weeks, where a round of tea parties and dinners made the visitor from the country as well known to Philadelphia society as the city residents themselves. With Quakers, such as the Fishers and the Norrises, the tie was also a religious one. In the first letter included in this group, Fenwick Fisher remarked to his daughter that he was about to set out for the spring meeting at Philadelphia, where he probably represented the Friends of the Duck Creek Monthly Meeting. In September, when the Yearly Meeting was held, Quakers from within a hundred-mile radius poured into Philadelphia to attend to church business, visit friends and relatives, and bring themselves up to date on the news since their last trip to the city.

Very little is known about the life of Sally Fisher, to whom these letters were written, but the comments of her friends indicate that she possessed a warm and appealing personality and was attractive to the bachelors of both Kent County and Philadelphia. The daughter of Fenwick Fisher, a Duck Creek merchant, and Mary Holliday Fisher, Sally Fisher was born in 1758 and was in her early twenties when she began corresponding with her cousin Sally and their friends Debby Norris and Sally Zane. References to Sally's past or intended trips to Philadelphia are frequent in the letters, as are allusions to the impression she had made upon her beaux. However, according to a comment made by Debby Norris, Sally Fisher received "no offers she approved," until she met William Corbit, prosperous tanner and farmer of Appoquinimink, a widower and father of two small children. At Friends' meeting on December 29, 1784,

Sally Fisher married William Corbit, thirteen years her senior, and became the mistress of one of the finest houses in Delaware, but she lived less than five years after her marriage and died in 1789 at the age of thirty. As Sally Corbit, she was the mother of three children, of whom only one, William Fisher Corbit (1789-1827), lived to maturity. It was his son, Dr. James Corbit, who, at his death in 1846, endowed the Corbit Library, giving the town of Odessa the first public library in the state.

Sarah Fisher, of Philadelphia, was the daughter of Fenwick Fisher's uncle, Joshua Fisher, and was born in Philadelphia in 1759, several years after her father had moved to that city from Lewes in Sussex County. The Fishers were among Pennsylvania's first families, John Fisher, the progenitor of the family, having come to America with William Penn in the "Welcome" and having been among those settlers who first lived in caves along the banks of the Delaware River. Joshua Fisher (1707-1783) began his career as a fur trader at Lewes, where, in 1733, he married Sarah Rowland (1717-1772). It was at this time that he acquired the knowledge of the Delaware Bay which enabled him to chart the waters of the bay and river. This chart, published in 1756, was a great contribution to shipping on the Delaware and continued to be the authority for navigating the river for many years.² Moving to Philadelphia in 1746 to further the education of his children, Joshua Fisher engaged in the shipping business which he gradually developed into the great and powerful mercantile house of Joshua Fisher and Sons.³

The Fisher town house at 110 South Front Street, with a warehouse at the end of the lot opening onto Dock Street, soon became a center of Quaker society, for Joshua Fisher was a leading merchant and a prominent Friend, and through his children was allied with the other great mercantile families. His eldest daughter Lydia (1736-1807) married Thomas Gilpin, dry-goods merchant and heir to the Gilpin mills on the Brandywine, whose interest in natural history led him to study the wheat fly, the seventeen-year locust, and the migratory habits of

² Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen, Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1942), p. 329.

³ Harold D. Eberlein and Cortlandt V. D. Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City, Philadelphia, 1670-1838* (Philadelphia, 1938), p. 498.

the European herring, and whose engineering skill enabled him to design and propose to the American Philosophical Society in 1769 a scheme for a canal linking the Delaware with the Chesapeake.⁴ Thomas Fisher (1741-1810), who succeeded his father as head of the firm and was active in the founding of the West-town Friends School, was married in 1772 to Sarah Logan, daughter of William and Hannah Emlen Logan, of Stenton.⁵ Another son, Samuel Rowland Fisher, also a member of the firm and active in Quaker affairs, married Hannah Rodman, of Newport, Rhode Island. A third son, Meirs Fisher, beginning a long and distinguished career as a lawyer, member of city council, and director of the Bank of North America, married Sarah Redwood, of Newport, in 1772. His younger brother, Jabez Maud Fisher, was engaged to Sarah Redwood's sister Hannah when he died in 1779 at the age of twenty-nine. Sally Fisher, the youngest of the Fisher children, was married in 1785 to Abijah Dawes, a Philadelphia merchant whose name also appears in the early histories of Wilmington as the owner of the mansion on Market Street which was later known as the Delaware House and the house farther up Market Street, above Sixth Street, which was long occupied by Gunning Bedford.⁶ Sally Fisher Dawes died, leaving two small children, in 1789, the same year as her cousin, Sally Fisher Corbit.

The sufferings of the Fishers during the Revolution are typical of the hardships which were imposed upon Quakers for their neutrality in the conduct of the war. Joshua Fisher is reputed to have written the Nonimportation Act, which, incidentally, undermined the source of his wealth, but as the Colonies drifted toward war, he and his sons refused to take part in actions to which they were opposed on principle. Accordingly, they would not sell supplies to the Continental Army, and, when their goods were seized, the Fishers steadfastly refused to accept Continental bills of credit in payment. A combination of pacifism and genuine Loyalist sympathies prompted the Fishers'

⁴ Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen*, pp. 345-47.

⁵ Anna Wharton Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family, 1682-1896* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 45.

⁶ Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington* (Wilmington, 1872), pp. 242, 244.

actions, which amounted to treason in the opinion of the patriots. In revenge, the radical Whig party which controlled Pennsylvania at the time banished Joshua Fisher, his sons Thomas, Samuel, and Meirs, and his son-in-law Thomas Gilpin, along with other leading Friends who were considered inimical to the American cause, to Winchester, Virginia, where they were confined from September, 1777, until April, 1778, when they were exonerated by Congress and allowed to return to Philadelphia.⁷ The next year, Samuel Rowland Fisher wrote to his brother Jabez at New York a letter in which he referred to the scarcity of grain in Philadelphia and made unpatriotic remarks about the Continental currency. Intercepted by the Whigs, the letter was construed by them as a communication to the British, and Samuel Fisher was accused of collaborating with the enemy. At his trial, the jury twice returned a verdict of innocent, but, under pressure, declared him guilty, and he was sentenced to prison. During the two years he spent there—always refusing to acknowledge any crime—this staunch Quaker and obstinate Tory kept a diary which provides a clear picture of the hysteria that reigned in Revolutionary Philadelphia.⁸ The letters of Debby Norris and Sally Fisher, of Duck Creek, contain numerous references to the sufferings of the Philadelphia Fishers, but Sally Fisher, of Philadelphia, makes only an occasional remark about “these boisterous times” and the problems which confronted her family. If the Whigs seized the Fishers’ furniture in payment of war taxes and fines, as they did the household effects of other Quakers, Sally did not mention the fact in her letters. She turned her mind to other things, and, placing her faith in God, merely waited for the troubles to cease.

The third member of the corresponding circle of friends was the high-spirited Deborah Norris (1761-1839), daughter of Charles and Mary Parker Norris, granddaughter of Isaac Norris I of Fairhill, and great-granddaughter of Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor. She lived with her widowed mother in the four-

⁷ Joshua Fisher, because of his advanced age, was not exiled to Virginia but was allowed to remain in Philadelphia under close surveillance. Thomas Gilpin died during the winter and was buried in a Friend's burial ground at Hopewell, Virginia.

⁸ Anna Wharton Morris, “Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher, 1779-1781,” in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLI, 145-97, 274-333, 399-457.

story Norris mansion on Chestnut Street and was carefully educated at home and at Anthony Benezet's school for girls. She, too, was in Philadelphia in the stirring days of the Revolution, writing to Sally Wister of the mass burial of soldiers during the winter of 1777, and later recalling that she had climbed the garden fence to hear the Declaration of Independence read from the steps of the State House.⁹ Like Sally Fisher, Debby Norris was more concerned with the affairs of Quaker belles and beaux. Her letters are filled with remarks about the matches being made in Philadelphia, and those of her friends contain many comments on Debby's own social life. When she began writing to Sally Fisher, Debby Norris was eighteen and an obvious favorite with young Quaker gentlemen, and by the time she had written the last note to her friend, she was the mistress of Stenton, the great house of the Logans near Germantown, over which she presided for fifty-six years. On September 9, 1781, at the High Street Meeting House in Philadelphia, Debby Norris became the wife of Dr. George Logan (1753-1821), who was a grandson of James Logan, secretary to William Penn, and had recently returned from his medical studies at Edinburgh.¹⁰ As George Logan devoted his life to farming, politics, and peace-making, Debby Logan made his home the gathering place of distinguished people. Called by her friend Susanna Dillwyn "one of the most completely beautiful and elegant women," Debby Logan entertained the great personalities of the Federal era—John Randolph of Roanoke, her cousin John Dickinson, Citizen Genêt, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington.¹¹ The charm and wit she later lavished on these gentlemen was already evident in the letters she wrote to her friends, and the pride she took in her skillful treatment of an inquisitive young doctor indicates the nimble mind and clever manner of a young woman who was to attain the rank of a great lady.

The final member of Sally Fisher's circle is less well known. Sally Zane (1754-1807) was the eleventh child of Isaac and Sarah Elfreth Zane, and, unlike her friends, died unmarried. Her

⁹ Albert Cook Myers (ed.), *Sally Wister's Journal* (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 190.

¹⁰ Frederick B. Tolles, *George Logan of Philadelphia* (New York, 1953), pp. 49-50.

¹¹ Myers, *Sally Wister's Journal*, pp. 117-18.

father may have been the Isaac Zane mentioned among the members of the Carpenters' Company in 1786,¹² and is listed in the 1790 Census as living on Mulberry Court in Sixth Street, above Market, in Philadelphia. Her brother, General Isaac Zane, was an ironmaster, merchant, and an officer in the Virginia militia, who acquired a controlling interest in the Marlboro Iron Works on Cedar Creek in Frederick County, Virginia, and was a friend of Thomas Jefferson's.¹³

One striking fact about the letters of these young women is that the writers were only slightly affected by living in a wartime capital. They were members of a self-contained and self-sufficient society, and, with few exceptions, the persons mentioned in the letters were members of that society—they were Friends, by birth, if not always in practice. These young women stayed on the periphery of the great events, and they appear to be deliberately unconcerned with the struggle between the Americans and the British. John Dickinson's activity in Whig politics is minimized in the letters, and Debby Norris looked with disdain at Colonel Samuel McLane, a Revolutionary hero who had married one of her friends. Marriage was indeed more important than the affairs of state. And while the letters reflect deep religious sentiment on the part of their Quaker writers who made countless moralizing comments and referred continually to the shortness of life, there is also an undercurrent of worldliness. The girls were not adverse to wearing silk clothes and riding in carriages, and the conscious use of literary names to conceal the identity of the beaux they mentioned indicates that they were familiar with the fashionable literature of the times. One of these pseudonyms has been identified as a character from an English tragedy; another can be traced to classical legend. Since the theatre was outlawed by Congress during the war, and the Friends opposed it as immoral, the girls' acquaintance with playwrights and poets must have been through books. This in itself is an interesting comment on eighteenth-century

¹² Charles E. Peterson, "Carpenters' Hall," in *Historic Philadelphia, from the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 126.

¹³ Henry C. Mercer, *The Bible in Iron* (Doylestown, Pa., 1941), p. 76; Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, VI (Princeton, 1952), 160.

reading habits, and the introduction of false names is an amusing means of disguising gossip. In fact, the tone of friendly gossip which pervades the letters makes them entertaining reading as well as interesting comments upon the men and manners of the Revolutionary period.

In transposing these letters from the manuscripts, an effort has been made to retain the original spelling, punctuation, and sentence structure. Only minor changes were made, and these are inserted in brackets. The relatively few instances where the spelling differs from modern usage and the great ease with which the girls expressed themselves would seem to prove that they were all well-educated and cultured young women. In every case possible, events and persons mentioned in the letters have been identified, and through them, the background of the letters and the activities of these four young women has been drawn. The large number of persons mentioned indicates that Sally Fisher and her friends had a wide circle of acquaintances, and that the people of Kent County were on intimate terms with the social life of Philadelphia in the 1780's.

FENWICK FISHER, DUCK CREEK, TO SALLY FISHER

DR. SALLY/DUCK CREEK 3rd mo: ye 21st 1779

haveing for Some days past waited thy return with my Usual Anxiety for thy Company heightened by the Addition of our dear young friend thy Companion Debby Norris who we have the pleasure to believe will Come with thee, but that You have deferd it till next fifth day which being the very time I must leave home by Appointment for the Spring Meeting in Phila and being very desirous of Seeing You both before I set of[f] Should Consequently be glad You would come a Day Sooner if Equally Convenient—Remember us Affectionately to our Friends [the] Dickinsons to whom we are under Obligations on thy Accot.¹⁴ and Shall be glad to See here when time offers—

I am thy affectionate Father—

FINWICK FISHER

¹⁴ John Dickinson (1732-1808) and his wife Mary Norris Dickinson (1740-1803) were prominent in the Quaker society of Pennsylvania and Delaware. From the context of the letter, it may be assumed that Sally Fisher and Debby Norris, who was Mrs. Dickinson's cousin, were visiting the Dickinsons, probably at their farm

ARDELIA [DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA] TO
SALLY FISHER, CROSS ROADS

(Per favour Dr. Parke)

[July 4, 1779]

Thy agreeable packet, my dear Amelia found me in a very pensive disposition, and it entertaind and diverted me in the most rational as well as innocent manner, for I will partake of thy amusements, and sympathise with thee in thy afflictions when ever thee will permit me to do it, by freely acquainting me with either; tho if my pray'rs and wishes are answer'd, the latter will be as seldom thy lot, as this probationary state will allow. My mind is at present agitated with very tender sensibillitys on account of the dangerous illness of my dear Aunt Norris,¹⁵ she is far advanced in life, and has been affl[ic]ted with ill health, for the three last years of it, in a most trying manner. Yet it is hard, my dear Girl, to resign all our claim to so affectionate, so tender, a connection. Oh! What a scene is this world! So diversified, so chequer'd! Sometimes our prospects are extended far, as the horrison of hope will admit, clear and illuminated, serene and beautiful! then the storms of adversity arise, clouds intervene and hope vanishes! our dearest treasures are torn from us, and the soul is one whirlwind of despair! but how beautifully does our Saviour, liken his divine system of Religion, to a rock which shall protect and secure the poor Soul in the most allarming dangers, if in the time of her prosperity she perferd that situation to others, that look'd less rugged and difficult. But surely the ways of Virtue are

on St. Jones Creek, near Dover. John Dickinson had been elected to represent Delaware in the Continental Congress, Jan. 18, 1779, but is not recorded in the roll calls until Apr. 23, and it is probable that he remained in Delaware until that time, since Fairhill, their country house near Philadelphia, had been burned by the British, and their town house was being occupied by the French legation. Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-36), IV, L-LI; Charles J. Stillé, *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732-1808* (Philadelphia, 1891), pp. 315, 332.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Norris (1704-1779), who was the daughter of Isaac and Mary Lloyd Norris and lived with her brother Isaac at Fairhill, keeping house for him after the death of his wife in 1744, may be considered one of the *grandes dames* of Philadelphia Quakerdom. When the Frenchman, Pierre Eugene du Simitière, made up his list of the people in Philadelphia who maintained carriages, Miss Norris was one of the two Quaker women included. She died Aug. 6, 1779, a month after this letter was written. Stillé, *Dickinson*, pp. 311-2; John W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia* (New York, 1911), p. 83; Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House* (Chapel Hill, 1948), p. 131 n.

pleasant, and all her precepts delightful! My dearest cousin Dickinson,¹⁶ bids me to say, that thy remembrance of her gave her a great pleasure, and she will not fail to write her acknowledgements when she is more recover'd,—for she has [been] ill, but is now better, one of my greatest delights, is the society of this dear and amiable woman.—I must bid thee adieu, to prepare for meeting, and there I shall think of thee, and thy virtues.

Make my affect. respects to thy parents and Jossy¹⁷ I am under Obligations to ye latter for this Epistle tell him to write often to his cousin,¹⁸ and do thee my much lov'd Amelia, omit no opportunity of communicating to Ardelia, thy adventures and sentiments—

Philadelphia July 4th 1779

ARDELIA [DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA] TO
SALLY FISHER [DUCK CREEK]

[November 16, 1779]

I have ever thought that it was rather impertinent after a parting like ours, to fill the next letter to your friend with an Account of the Effect it had on you, When if that friend did justice to your feelings they Anticipated all that the heart could suggest on such an occasion, allow me however to say, that to the regret I felt at parting with thee, was added, mortification And disappointment—Leander¹⁹ drank tea

¹⁶ Mary (Polly) Norris Dickinson (1740-1803) was the daughter and only heir of Isaac Norris II and Sarah Logan Norris and was a first cousin of Debby Norris. Stillé quotes Debby's praise of her cousin's "sweet and benevolent expression of countenance, a solid judgement, good sense, the most affectionate disposition, the tenderest sensibility of heart, and elevated piety." On July 19, 1770, at Mrs. Charles Norris' house on Chestnut Street, Mary Norris was married to John Dickinson, lawyer and Delaware landowner. Jack MacPherson, who was reading law under Dickinson at the time, commented about the bride, ". . . she is a young lady endowed with every qualification requisite to make the marriage state happy, with a fortune of £50,000 (some say £80,000) sterling." Stillé, *Dickinson*, pp. 313-7; Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen*, p. 181.

¹⁷ Joshua Fisher (1761-1791), son of Fenwick and Mary Holliday Fisher and Sally's brother, was a promising young lawyer in Dover. He amassed a modest fortune from his practice, and, when he died, left a farm in Sussex County, some real estate in Duck Creek, and £100 to his nephew, William Fisher Corbit. Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family*, p. 58; Kent County Wills, Vol. A 17, p. 137, Delaware State Archives, Dover.

¹⁸ Sally Fisher, of Philadelphia.

¹⁹ Leander's identity is not known, but his relationship to Debby Norris was

with us yesterday, We talk'd of thee—shall I tell thee what he said? I will, he thought thee An Uncommon Girl, sensible, agreeable, easy, and unaffected—just romance enough to please—Yes, romantic! yet serious. he express'd a wish to see some of thy letters, I did not satisfy his curiosity—Shall I do it, my dear!

I have not heard a word about Col. Ze.²⁰ but I am sure he will be glad to capitulate on any reasonable terms, no doubt he has before this time desired an Accomodation, but I can-not Wish thee to give this American Goliath any encouragement

I am very impatient to receive a letter from thee I want to know what sort of journey you had, and what adventures thee met with, And above all what reflections thee made on persons And things When thee was here, Write me such a letter I charge thee, And tell besides this all thy pursuits, prospects and employments, let me be present And share ev'ry scene. — I think I can feel how refreshing solitude and rural ease was to thy mind after bidding Adieu to this noisy town; I don't love it at all I strive to get out of it as much as possible And seek the calm joys of retirement, for

The female form is for retirement made
Her virtues open fairest in the shade

and I always thought such a foil was favourable to refinement and delicacy of soul. if I were a Gentleman (but this is only to thee) I would wish to marry a woman that had had a private education brought up with all that Amiable reserve, that bashful innocence which a commerce with the world wears off, and I should look for such a flower only in the inclosures of solitude. — What sort of a letter will this be! for I write as incoherently as I chat to thee.

Seventh day.

Danl Mifflin ²¹ has just call'd upon me—he leaves town this afternoon,

apparently that of an old friend rather than that of a suitor. The name perhaps refers to the Greek love story of Hero and Leander, her devoted lover who nightly swam the Hellespont to meet her. Nancy Shippen, a contemporary of Debby Norris, used the same name to refer to her secret lover, Comte de Mosloy, the chargé d'affaires at the French legation, but since the two women seem to have moved in different circles, the allusion is probably coincidental. Ethel Armes, *Nancy Shippen, Her Journal Book* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 32.

²⁰ The reference is possibly to Isaac Zane, who was an officer in the Virginia militia and is mentioned by Henry Mercer in *The Bible in Iron* as both Colonel Zane and General Zane. He was the brother of Sally Zane.

²¹ Daniel Mifflin (1754-1812) was the son of Daniel and Mary Warner Mifflin, of Accomac County, Virginia, and married Debby Howell, the daughter of Samuel and

so I have not time to write as much as I intended, I am very sorry to hear thy good Mamma has been so unwell—tis that circumstance makes me not wonder at thy silence, but pray do write to me—I wish I had something interesting or adventure-like to say, but really (tho the scene lays in the Metropolis,) my days glide on so calmly that one is an epitome of all rest; exceptions have sometimes occur'd, very rarely tho'.

Charles and Maria ²² set off for Virginia this week, they talk of staying the Winter, she did not Even give me a visit of Acknowledgement, the remembrance of some things are painful to us, and we wish to bury them in Oblivion, Maria's method of doing this, is by drowning the acquaintance of all those who shar'd in former scenes—I pity her! She is not indifferent to me, not altogether so.—

I beg thee not to show the little journal of mine that thee took with thee, Nor on any account this letter, present my respects to thy parents and brothers and sisters,

Adieu my dearest girl—I can't too frequently enjoin thee to write. remember Our parting Scene! And continue to love thy—

ARDELIA

Nor. 16th 1779

DEBORAH NORRIS TO SALLY FISHER, DUCK CREEK CROSSROADS

[December, 1779] ²³

And is it possible? has Sally Fisher never wrote to me but once

Ann Howell, of Philadelphia, in 1778. About 1783, Mifflin came into possession of 112 acres of land near Dover, laid out building lots, and founded the settlement of Mifflin's Cross Roads, now Camden. William Wade Hinshaw, *Index to Quaker Meeting Records*, Philadelphia Northern District MM (Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College); Henry C. Conrad, *History of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1908), II, 653.

²² The reference is probably to Charles and Maria Logan. Charles Logan (? -1794) was the son of William and Hannah Emlen Logan, and the brother of Dr. George Logan. He married Mary Pleasants, of Virginia, at Friends' Meeting, Philadelphia, on July 8, 1779. When the Charles Logans moved to Virginia in 1782, they took with them a letter of introduction to Thomas Jefferson from Isaac Zane. Debby Norris had known Maria Logan before her marriage and had felt differently toward her; the year before, she wrote to Sally Wister of "Molly Pleasants, who is a dear Girl." Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 31; Myers, *Sally Wister's Journal*, p. 197. Boyd, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, VI, 160.

²³ The date is approximated by the reference to Betsy McLane's marriage, which took place Nov. 25, 1779. This letter had been slightly damaged; missing or unintelligible sections are indicated by . . . , and questionable words are inserted in brackets.

since she left Philadelphia? are questions that I frequently ask myself, for I think of my absent friend with the tenderest solicitude imaginable and sure she will not be so ungrateful as in return to forget me. If I undertook to judge from appearances I should certainly draw a conclusion not at all in thy favour, but for my own sake I am more mildly disposed—and yet after all, perhaps it was the enormous size of my last packet that has [discouraged] making returns to so unreasonable a corr[espondent]. [If that] is the case I can only be sorry that my passion for scribbling has so long deprived me of the felicity of hearing from my friend, and promiss, if she will write to be more moderate for the future.

I have been to see Betsey McLane²⁴ since she became an inhabitant of our city, she is really an Elegant Girl, and I am sure behaved with twice as much propriety as I should have done in her situation amongst strangers, officiating in a new character as mistress of a house and without the friendly prop of faces to which you have been long accustom'd but . . . behaved just as she should have done & with modest dignity engaged esteem & applause—Sophy Hanson has been in town, and is very much pleased with it, I intended to have call'd to have taken leave of her but was prevented by a fit of the headach, I . . . tell her so. —

[Nothing] very interesting here at present that I know of. I have no matrimonial intelligence to send thee. I have [made] enquiries wether thee was like to be m—d or no, but nobody can tell me, thee will receive this letter . . . by my Cousin Polly²⁵ as she is on her way to that solitude which I shared with her so lately, I could say a great deal on this subject, thee know it was not an unpleasing one to me, for I was happy and delighted, and yet I declare I almost hate Kent for her sake.

. . . Sally, how happy should I be if there was not so long a distance as eighty miles between us, if we were so situated as sometimes to meet and mingle Souls, to share more intimately in the little cares and pleasures of life . . . expands at the thought!

do my dear write to me and let it be such . . . bring back past scenes, tell me does thee ever . . . in the little front room and think of Debby . . . in the glass that is in our blue chamber . . . thy face by mine, does

²⁴ Elizabeth Miller McLane (1755-1817) was the daughter of the Reverend John Miller, pastor of the Presbyterian churches at Dover and Duck Creek, and his wife Margaret Millington Miller. She was a sister of the distinguished physician, Edward Miller, and the prominent theologian and man of letters, Samuel Miller. On Nov. 25, 1779, Betsy McLane was married to Col. Samuel McLane of Philadelphia. Frank Willing Leach, in *The North American*, Philadelphia, Sunday, June 21, 1908.

²⁵ Polly Norris Dickinson. Debby Norris probably refers to the loneliness of the Dickinson's farm near Dover.

thee remember how . . . together? I love to recover the ideas I . . . I must abruptly bid thee adieu make my . . . able to your family and remember what . . . enjoyed thee, by thy ever affectionate

D. NORRIS

Mammy desires her kind love

[SARAH FISHER, DUCK CREEK CROSS ROADS] TO
DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA

[March ? 1780] ²⁶

MY DEAREST DEBBY

I just now sit down to write a short letter to my much lov'd and admir'd Debby Norris and must beg her to excuse the long silence of her friend and not attribute it to the least decrease of that tenderness which I have ever felt for thee since our happy acquaintance I have venturd to call it so from my own feeling (if I do not compliment my self too highly) whose mind was tun'd in unison with my own how endearing was thy tender pathetic Letter relative to my poor distress'd cousins ²⁷ I thought then as well as at many other times that nothing so exalts the human soul except the genuine flame of piety as the sweet emotions of humanity which affords a kind of pleasing pain and leaves serenity almost divine—It was a maxim of the wisest of men that it was better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of mirth I acquiesce with him it is more instructive for there we may learn lessons of the frailty of all sublunary enjoyments which would teach a thoughtful mind to endeavor to lay up an immortal treasure that nothing earthly can destroy—

²⁶ Samuel Rowland Fisher noted in his journal on Feb. 29, 1780, that "there was a New York newspaper in town which mentioned the death of my brother Jabez in London." This letter, the only one in the collection written by Sally Fisher, of Duck Creek, refers to the death of Jabez Maud Fisher, and its approximate date is based upon the reference. "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher," pp. 276-77.

²⁷ Jabez Maud Fisher (1750-1779) died Dec. 1, 1779, at the house of Emanuel Elam at Leeds, England, after "three weeks slight indisposition & four days illness of a scarlet fever & an ulcerated sore throat." He had been away from home more than four years, having gone to England in 1775 to handle the affairs of Joshua Fisher and Sons. In 1778, he had come to New York with a shipment of goods which he intended to bring to Philadelphia, but since that city was again held by the Americans, he thought the venture unwise and returned to England. Samuel Rowland Fisher, imprisoned for treason at that time, commented, ". . . the death of my brother was a close tryal to me, & the family in general; more particularly my sister Sally, who is much affected with it as well as really indisposed." *Ibid.*

The family thee writes so affectionately of are indeed as shorn lambs and shorn to thy [the] very quick but the being who has wounded them can alone bind them up for ever I have a particular sympathy with my poor old Uncle ²⁸ his age seems to have render'd him less able to resist such an alarming shock of fate but I believe he has a supernatural aid which has strengthened [him] to stand the tempests of these boisterous times—do my Dear girl inform me in thy next how the poor Dear girl ²⁰ my Departed Cousin was enge'd to bears the separation I think her affliction must be as great as if the ceremony had been pass'd as thier affection were united When such friends part tis the survivor dies—I really am in a serious mood but I cannot well help telling thee a secret I have had a new declaration I must not let thee into the whole affair now I have not time I have a curiosity to know who that was went by with the Dr. that desir'd to be acquainted with thee likewise what a person said of Dan Mifflin and me—

thee is so kind as to desire to know whether thee may expect to see me in Phila this spring it is quite likely thee may if thee will comply with the terms which is to come down and once more gladden the heart of thy Kent acquaintance and spend a week or two with me that we may renew our former scenes of pleasure together and we will go down and see thy Amiabl cousin Polly and I will return to Phila With thee I said in the beginning this was to be a short letter I must make it so for time now governs me now more than inclination as doctr Park ³⁰ is to set of[f] in a very short time which is the reason I cannot write to my poor Cousin Sally pray dont let her know thee when thee receives this or she will have some reason to be jealous I intend to write her by the next opportunity please to remember me to thy good mammy

²⁸ Joshua Fisher was seventy-three years of age.

²⁹ According to references in this and other letters, Hannah Redwood (1759-1796), daughter of William and Hannah Holmes Redwood, of Newport, Rhode Island, was engaged to Jabez Maud Fisher at the time of his death. Her sister, Sarah Redwood (1755-1847), had married Meirs Fisher (1748-1819) in 1774. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 543.

³⁰ The reference is possibly to Dr. Thomas Parke (1745-1835), who was the son of Thomas and Jane Edge Parke, of Chester County, and was a distinguished physician in Philadelphia. A graduate of the College of Philadelphia in 1770, who then studied medicine in London and Edinburgh, he was a member of the American Philosophical Society, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and was on the staff of the Pennsylvania Hospital. In 1775, he married Rachel Pemberton (1754-1786), daughter of James and Hannah Lloyd Pemberton. The reason for his frequent trips to Kent County is not explained, and it is not known whether he was related to the Thomas Parke, of Kent County, who died in 1792, leaving a widow, Jane. J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 673; Leon de Valinger, Jr., *Calendar of Kent County, Delaware, Probate Records, 1680-1800* (Dover, 1944), p. 457.

Adieu my Dearest Debby I entertain the tenderst affection I have confided in the[e] in one part of this letter in particular

[no signature]

SALLY ZANE, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
DUCK CREEK CROSS ROADS

[April 6, 1780]

The Acceptable favour of 31st inst. was handed me To day by thy Ameable Frd. Debby Norris—I am far my dr. Sally from Doubting thy Veracity in any point—But I really began to Think that some particular Engagement divert'd thy Attention from this Quarter, as there has been so long a silence on thy side, I lose no Time in Answering thine. Therefore permit me to Insist upon a Testimony of thy Remembrance more frequent for the future, That we may Experience that “Valuable Priviledge of Absent Friends”—With thy lively sentiments I unite in Allowing that Act of duelling,³¹ Unchristian & Inhuman and feel great satisfaction in Assuring thee there was not the least foundation for that Invidious Report—My Dearest Girl, I should at Once imagine myself in a Great Degree Happy (if I may be Allowed the Expression) To find myself Encircled in Your “Sweet little Village” for such, it must be, Where harmonious disposition's Consist—Our first scheme to procure me There I fear will not succeed if not I must attempt Another (i. e.) as I Expect my Br. Isaac³² in Town Next week I must lay my Command's upon him to spend some time in this City then we really must make a visit a[s] I have the greatest Inclination to have a real Acquaintance of that Agreeable Situation as well as the Amiable Character of its Inhabitants of which thou has given me so Expert a Description of—My Dear Girl I fear thee has put a Miscontruction upon a Paragraph in my last I do not at Present recollect what it was I aim'd at but be assur'd if there had been anything in what I Apprehend thee hinted at

³¹ Dueling was probably contrary to the ideals of Quaker conduct. While there was no specific discipline regarding dueling, it could have been covered by the discipline of 1716 and 1719, which warned against stage plays, lotteries, “vain sports or pastimes.” *Rules of Discipline and Christian Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1797).

³² Isaac Zane (1743-1795) was the son of Isaac and Sarah Elfreth Zane. In 1763, he was granted a transfer to Grace Church Street Monthly Meeting in London and spent several months abroad at that time. He was disowned for disunity in 1773, perhaps for his warlike activity as a member of the Virginia militia. William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, 1938), II, 441, 696-97.

I should at once land it in the secure Repository of my dr. Sally's bosom without Hesitation, Therefore I Claim the Same Confidence from thyself as I Esteem that Trust Inviolable therefore by no Means to be Disclos'd—

Thy poor Afflicted [Cousin] Sally with the Tender Parent and Anxious Brothers & fond Sisters has Survived a most sorrowful Conflict Indeed²³ but a Truly Christian Resignation has Wonderfully supported them through the . . . an Event that's hard, very to surmount That dear Good Girl H. Redwood has Experienced a most Poignant Sensation after the Wounds of a Cruel Separation to be for at once forever deprived of the Amiable Youth for whom the fondest Passions and pleasing Hope was Cherish'd in the Heart of one Endowed with the greatest Sensibility is very piercing. I tenderly Sympathize and Participate in the Cup of Affliction with Them Their Tryals have been many and Continued a Strong Portrait of the Transient and fickleness of Temporal Enjoyment if it does but prepare and fit us for the Celestial State to enter the Mansions of Glory the End will be Joy.

Believe me Dear Sally To be Thy sincere

SALLY ZANE

Philada.

4th mo. 6th. 1780

[DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
DUCK CREEK]

May 6th 1780

Thy wellcome letter which put me out of that disagreeable state suspence, came safe to me this afternoon, with an apology from Danl Mifflin for not sending it sooner;—indeed my dear it seems to me that we shall neither of us marry; but for reasons rather differant, thee from not having an offer thee approves, I, from having no offers to disapprove; so I think we may as well be before hand with our destiny and agree upon living Old Maids, by the way, I think it is a situation that may be supported with great dignity; And I always thought it a striking impropriety for any person, especially one of our own Sex, to speak in that Contemptuous way of Old Maids which is sometimes common, And which too many practise, but my dear to return to the Love affair, depend upon my fidelity was it the Youth I mentioned in my last? if it was, only put 'Yes Debby', in thy next letter And I will be no furthur importunate—How much do I, my beloved Girl, admire thy

²³ This is a reference to the death of Jabez Maud Fisher.

sentiments on evry subject; I strive as I read thy letters to catch some Emanation of thy Virtues, And I am desirous of possessing in reality those good qualities which thy partiality attributes to me already—this much I can say for myself, that I Am Above flattery—I am very glad to hear that thy Aunt Rowland is so well, I hope her little ones will live, do give my respects to her, and sincere Congratulations on her safety. — How sweetly amiable and pleasing in sensibility, how beautifully does it gild and add lustre to other accomplishments; like the sun beam to the trembling dew drop! these were my reflections when I read that part of thy letter which Concerned thy Aunt. — I am obliged to thee in a way that I cannot express, for wishing me to come to Kent again, Ah! how rejoiced I should be to do it, I declare the idea of seeing thee, came to me so forcibly just now, that my Heart jumped and beat quick for two or three minutes I have spent an afternoon with Hannah Redwood, and one with thy Cousin Sally, since I wrote to thee and indeed my love, I experienced that it is better to go to the house of mourning than to the House of mirth, for I felt much more satisfaction in being there than in several Gay visits and Circles which I have lately been engaged in—I sometimes wonder of what jumblement of materials my mind is composed of, I well remember, that I could not be said to perfectly relish any parties where the J.s³⁴ were excluded their society seemed in a manner nessessary to my happiness, And yet their behaviour has some how estranged them from my mind in a way unaccountable to me, I am not very intimate with any Girls here, now; 'tho I have a large Acquaintance, I cannot easily form New friendships. at length the Dr.³⁵ has sailed my dear, they were to have sailed a fortnight before they did, he took leave of all his Acquaintance, I believe he drank tea with me about a week ago And when he went away, wishd me a great share of Health and Happiness, And I in return wishd him a prosperous Voyage And a safe return;—but the last and most tender Adieu was

³⁴ Debby Norris probably refers to the Jones sisters, who were the daughters of Owen and Susanna Evans Jones of Lower Merion and Philadelphia. Sally Jones (1760- ?) was a member of Sally Wister's "social-circle," which also included Polly Fishbourne, Anna and Peggy Rawle, Sally Burge, and Deborah Norris. The cause of the estrangement between Debby Norris and the Joneses is not known, but Debby makes a number of allusions to it in her letters. Myers, *Sally Wister's Journal*, p. 15.

³⁵ The doctor is probably Dr. John Foulke (1757-1796), son of Judah and Mary Bringham Foulke, who sailed for France, May 4, 1780, to complete his medical studies. He had received an M. B. degree from the University of the State of Pennsylvania, and went abroad with letters of introduction from Thomas Bond and Joseph Wharton to Benjamin Franklin, then the American minister to France. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 932. See Lyman H. Butterfield, *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 250-51, for the letter which Benjamin Rush wrote young Foulke about traveling abroad.

with Bell Marshall ³⁶ he was particularly Attached to her; (to use his own expressions on such an occasion) and I dare say cried Adieu! with a very good grace. —

[DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
DUCK CREEK]

thirdday 8th 1780 ³⁷

³⁷ Aug. 3, 1780.

I sealed this, am
better to day. —

Most ardently have I wished for a little tete a tete conversation with thee since I wrote my last; entirely on the same subject; the Girls, my dear As if determined to Obliterate ev'ry sentiment I entertained in their favor behave in the most intollerable manner; One day last week I had a good deal of company to see me And after we had finished tea, doctor F.—was announced; (thee must know that the Girls have told him of the affair And he spent one evening with us since, when he could not have Observed the least difference in my behaviour) the company did not break up all at Once, but when the last went away (Becky Morris ³⁸ and Debby Williams) ³⁹ Isaac ⁴⁰ waited on them home, and I accompanied them to the door, leaving the doctor and Leander in the room, I lighted the Girls out, And was just returning into ye parlour when the Dr. came out in a violent hurry followed by Leander; he came directly up to me and making a low bow, said with apparent Confusion " Miss Norris If I knew when you would be at leisure I would wait upon you; perhaps on Monday afternoon you would be at leisure " I was more confused still, but I believe I said ' yes, doctor I am disengaged "

³⁶ Bell Marshall may be Isabella Marshall (1763-1790), the daughter of Christopher Marshall and his wife Ann Eddy, of Philadelphia. Dr. Foulke's attachment to her was only temporary, for he married in 1788, Eleanor Parker, daughter of Richard and Lydia Parker, and in that same year Isabella Marshall married Dr. Caspar Wistar, Jr., who was to become one of the most distinguished physicians in America. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, pp. 261, 932.

³⁸ The only reference to a Rebecca Morris found is a minute of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting disowning "Rebecca Talbot (late Morris)" for marriage out of meeting. Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, II, 603.

³⁹ Deborah Williams, daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams, was married to John Field, son of John and Mary Field, at Philadelphia Meeting, Nov. 16, 1786. *Ibid.*, II, 687.

⁴⁰ Isaac Norris (1760-1802) was Debby's older brother. He was disowned by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for joining the Roman Catholic Church and died unmarried, in 1802. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 89; Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, II, 608.

And then with another bow he retired; Leander shut the door, And very much astonish'd we seated ourselves in the parlour; the doctor 'tis plain means to enter into a conference on this affair with me; how ev'ry way unsuitable And improper that he should! What an embarrassing situation is mine! however I have resolved upon my behavior, I will not suffer him to say half a dozen words on the subject, for I will directly tell him that I do not blame him for the ladies behaviour, And he will very much Oblige me by saying No more About the Affair. — for I will not endure the confusion of his entering into a particular detail, I am certain they have put him upon this method.

For pitys sake my dearest Girl write, And tell me what thee thinks, Oh what I would give for half an hours conversation;—but in this break of friendship I have the satisfaction of thinking that I have acted with propriety. — I was much disappointed that Michael ⁴¹ did not bring a line from thee, And indeed my dear I am very sorry for the Occasion as I am sure thee has suffered a Great deal from it; may thy dear parent be fully restored before thee reads this; I am much Obligated to Jossy for his letter, and for his good opinion; but he does flatter. —Michael dined with us to day, and I was very glad to see him, he told me a great deal about you, intelligence that thee would not think of writing, And yet it brought you very near me he had seen my dear Cousin ⁴² too, And it is pleasant to converse with those who have lately conversed with the beloved Absent. I am very much indisposed just now with a violent cold and pain in my face. it is the first day afternoon, tomorrow is the appointed day, well I think I will not finish my letter, till this important matter is filled. —

Seconday night

It is decided, my dear, I have behaved quite charmingly. — About four the doctor came, but he could not have An Audience entirely tete a tete; a friend was with Mamma and me in the parlour; he took Occasion when they were engaged in conversation, to introduce the subject by asking when I had seen the Miss Joneses! Not lately doctor; There is a coldness between you I hear, 'tis what I am very sorry for. — things of this nature Are very disagreeable, returned I. I had hoped

⁴¹ This reference is probably to Michael Offley, of Kent County, who is mentioned in another letter from Debby Norris to Sally Fisher. Caleb and Daniel Offley are mentioned in the records of Philadelphia Southern District Monthly Meeting in 1782, and the name of Michael Offley appears in the minutes of Duck Creek Meeting at the same time. Mrs. Elizabeth Offley, probably the grandmother of Michael Offley, married Daniel Corbit I, the grandfather of Sally Fisher's husband, in 1728. See Administration Papers of Caleb Offley, 1728, Delaware State Archives, Dover.

⁴² Polly Norris Dickinson.

for the honor of chatting with you alone on this subject said the Dr. A subject that I could say very little on, I replied. — (here a long pause ensued) And then he said, I could wish for Another opportunity of speaking with you (looking at the rest of the company) Why indeed returned I—I could say but very little; he was very sorry for the Occasion, he said; so I told him, that I did not think him to blame, And I desired never to hear Another word on the subject. — he sat a few minutes And then got up to go, Mamma invited him to stay-tea, but he chose to make his manners And walk off. — tho I added, that the tea was just ready. — tell me, My dear Girl how thee likes my behaviour. —

I am very impatient to receive a line. — Jossy says he could not get a sight of my last, for which I thank thee. — My best respects attend thy worthy Parents;—And for thee, the heart of thy DNorris overflows with affection

[DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA] TO SALLY FISHER,
[DUCK CREEK]

(in the care of Saml. Crosby)

[no date]

My dearest Girl, I am so dissatisfied with telling Crosby that I “could not write” (before I read thy endearing letters) that I now set down, very late on 7th day night, to scrawl a line, I was engaged this afternoon with company, besides finishing some nescessary work that I could not take up my pen before—

My heart is so fill'd with tender sentiments for thee, And so deeply pierced with thy affectionate goodness that I cannot find words to convey an Adequate idea of my feelings. Never shall thee, my sweet friend repent of the confidence thee has reposed in me. — I have a thousand things to say. — how I wish Crosby would defer his journey, I only received thy letters to day at noon, & he sets out to morrow morning. I had better not say a word on the Ungrateful subject,⁴³ Only I am rejoiced at thy Approbation, indeed my dear if thee could see their notes thee would think they merited resentment, it seems as if all the Affection I entertained for them has developed upon another, but she ⁴⁴ unfortunately lives at a little village at a great distance from me,

⁴³ The reference is presumably to the feud which raged between Debby Norris and the Jones sisters, and for this reason this undated letter is placed in this position.

⁴⁴ Debby is probably referring to Sally Fisher, of Duck Creek.

I am sincerely glad thy dear Mammy is better, do give her my kindest love. how I admire and reverence thee in the character of a nurse, how amiable and lovely does my sweet friend appear fulfilling her filial duty! May all the gentle blessings promised to good Children descend upon her head! Suffer this billet to make my peace for ye present, it shall not be long before I will dispatch a volhum if I live and do well. — if . . . , I shall be ashamed to write to thee, but I hope I shall be preserved. — Adieu my dear Sally I embrace thee a thousand & a thousand times with unfeignd affectn.

DN.

[DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
DUCK CREEK]

[1780?]⁴⁵

I had dressed myself for the afternoon and was seated at work, When lifting up my eyes they were Unexpectedly caught by the beauty of a small opening thro the trees, which conveyd a thousand fair ideas to my mind in a moment; the idea of my dear Sally presented itself, and the sweet delicacy of our attachment struck forcibly on my heart; I thought of her at ye Hermitage, at ye Cross roads, & saw the disposition she was in when she wrote the last letter—in short the revirie was in its height when Dr. Parke made his appearance, disappointment succeeded I need not say how, however he brought a message, and I am obediently fullfilling its dictates. My dear Girl I can say with thee that thy most serious letters are not the most unwellcome to me on that account—Nor do I mean to flatter when I add that I think thee,

When serious easy, And when gay discreet!

indeed the causes thee gives for An Uncommon pensiveness of mind, does not only Authorise, but demand it—As for me I am one of the Strangest Creatures living, such a mixture of good & bad qualities! let my friends and Enemies judge which predominates, between themselves. if they chose to take the trouble of examining so insignifucant a mortal.

Johny Mifflin⁴⁶ brought me thy letter, And gave me an Account of his

⁴⁵ The letter is dated approximately on the basis of a further reference to the Norris-Jones affair.

⁴⁶ Johny Mifflin is probably John Fishbourne Mifflin (1759-1813), who was the son of John and Sarah Fishbourne Mifflin and a prominent lawyer in Philadelphia. He was graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1775, was admitted to the bar

visit to you; he is delighted that he has added Jossy to the number of his acquaintance, And not a little pleased with his affability and kindness, he thinks too that he has discovered an agreeable vein of humour in Josh; And I have confirmed it. As to thee my dear Girl we have treated thee much after the manner that you did me, when thee had finished reading my last letter.

did I tell thee that Molly Logan has presented Charles with a fine Son,⁴⁷ And is recovering very happily, I called to see her yesterday morning And found her out of her chamber, she lookd pale but very delicate her hands and arms I think the most beautiful I ever saw, We have often admired them my dear. I believe it was since I wrote to thee that I had a most interesting conversation with her, it was twilight when we entered upon the subject & it lasted till near 10 Oclock, reserve was banish'd we spoke our sentiments freely, and parted mutually pleas'd (I believe) with Our Conference—but what words shall I select to set out the mean art of the J.'s? ⁴⁸ how much have they imposed upon my undesigning friendship, And in how many instances have I found them treacharious like the favourite of a Prince when in power No one dare speak against him, but as soon as it is known that his fidelity is suspected, Complaints and Accounts of the injuries he has committed come pouring in on all sides—I am persuaded thee would think an Apology needless, for making use of a simile that advances me so much; did thee but know them as I have acason [occasion] to do, I shd be utterly unworthy of thy friendship were I not superior to them in point of ye heart.

[No signature]

five years later, and married Clementina Ross, the daughter of John Ross, in 1788. If he had brought a letter to Debby Norris from Duck Creek, it is possible that he had been visiting his relatives in Delaware or Virginia. Myers, *Sally Wister's Journal*, p. 199.

⁴⁷ James Logan, the son of Charles and Maria Logan, was born about 1780, although his exact birthdate is not known. His name, with that of a sister Sarah, was included on the certificate of transfer to the Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting when his parents moved to Virginia in 1782. He was lost at sea in 1805. Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, II, 584; Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 31.

⁴⁸ The reference is again to the Jones sisters.

SALLY FISHER, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER
AT WILMINGTON OR DUCK CREEK

[August 27, 1780]⁴⁹

WELL MY DEAR COUSIN,

for all thee would not give me a line, I would not omit an opportunity that offerd—as it is with the greatest pleasure I hear thee is at Wilmington, with an intention to visit us—which I beg thee may, the first opportunity that thee likes, I have told some of the girls and they are pleas'd with hearing it—I beg thee may not defer it—as the meeting advances on us fast and thee will have but little time—thee may be assured every thing in my power shall be done to render thy stay here agreeable—and I hope thee will receive satisfaction from being with us—tho it is not in our power to do for our friend as in time past⁵⁰—yet believe a disposition equally dispos'd is ours—I anticipate thy coming with impatience—and if thee does not come shall meet with a great disappointment—Sally Zane was here yesterday and she seems highly delighted—as thee is much of a favourite of her's.

I have nothing interesting to tell thee of—when I see thee shall have a great deal to say to Thee, that I cannot well write—Debby Norris is at Germantown—with Hannah Pemberton,⁵¹ she is to come to town the first of next week to stay a few days at Fountain Green⁵²—Mifflins place—John was to see me a day or two Since—and begs I will come

⁴⁹ This letter is dated by the fact that Sally Fisher was visiting her cousin Elizabeth Fisher Rodney in Wilmington, where the Rodneys had moved in the summer of 1780. George H. Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 378.

⁵⁰ Here Sally Fisher makes one of her few references to the hard times brought on by the Revolutionary War. The Fisher warehouse had been looted for supplies for the Continental Army, and one member of the family was in prison for treason at the writing of this letter.

⁵¹ Hannah Pemberton (1755-1788) was the daughter of James and Hannah Lloyd Pemberton. Her father was a member of a prominent Quaker family and was one of the wealthy merchants who were exiled to Virginia in 1777. Hannah Pemberton became the wife of Robert Morton, the son of her stepmother, Phoebe Morton Pemberton, by a previous marriage, on October 14, 1784. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 291.

⁵² "Fountain Green" was the estate of Benjamin Mifflin on the east bank of the Schuylkill River, adjoining Mount Pleasant. John Mifflin had been granted 150 acres under the authority of the Duke of York in 1680, and the patent was confirmed by William Penn in 1684. The property remained in the Mifflin family until 1806. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 844; Thompson Westcott, *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 217-18.

out at the same time to the Cliffs,⁵³ where Hannah Redwood and myself have spent many days of quietness and ease this summer—it was charming we were there alone,—Sally Pemberton ⁵⁴ was enquiring after thee she was pleas'd with the short acquaintance she had with thee—and wishes to renew it—she is a very fine girl—do if thee has any Conveyance write to me while thee stays in Wilmington—give my kind love to Cousin Bessy ⁵⁵—and her children and believe me thy affectionate cousin

SALLY FISHER PHILADELPHIA
8th month 27th—

Sister Hetty ⁵⁶ love attends thee and joins me in a mutual wish and expectation of Seeing thee—I have sent the Tea it cost 15/Shillings—and I believe its good.

SALLY FISHER, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
CROSS-ROADS, KENT COUNTY

(favoured by Fre'd Skillington)

[September 1780] ⁵⁷

MY DEAR COUSIN,

a neighbour of your's was kind enough to call this day and let me know of an opportunity to Kent, which I was pleas'd with an immedi-

⁵³ "The Cliffs" was the country house built by Joshua Fisher in 1753 and named for the home of his grandfather Joshua Maud near Wakefield, Yorkshire. Harold D. Eberlein describes this house as small and intended for use as a shelter during days in the country rather than as a place of residence. The house was owned continuously by the Fisher family until it was acquired by Fairmount Park and still stands above the east bank of the Schuylkill River, near the Girard Avenue Bridge. Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City*, pp. 310-12.

⁵⁴ Sally Pemberton (1756-1819) was the younger sister of Hannah Pemberton. She died unmarried. Another sister, Rachel, was the wife of Dr. Thomas Parke. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 291.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Fisher Rodney (1744-1811) was the daughter of Jabez Maud Fisher, of Kent County, and was thus the first cousin of Sarah Fisher, of Philadelphia, and first cousin, once removed, of Sarah Fisher, of Duck Creek. On Aug. 8, 1771, Elizabeth Fisher married Thomas Rodney, Delaware patriot and a brother of Caesar Rodney, the Signer. Their daughter Lavinia Rodney married her cousin John Fisher. Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family*, p. 40.

⁵⁶ Esther Fisher (1734-1795) was the eldest daughter of Joshua and Sarah Rowland Fisher. At fifty-nine years of age, she married Samuel Lewis, son of Henry and Catherine Lewis. Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family*, p. 34.

⁵⁷ Samuel Rowland Fisher mentions the illness of his family in his journal, Sept. 16, 1780, at approximately the same time that this letter was written. It appears from his comments and from the letter that Philadelphia was gripped by an epidemic, in which case Sally Fisher had good reason for returning to Duck Creek.

ately I sat down to give thee a few lines, although I had wrote thee twiste since I had heard from thee—I have just return'd from a visit to Bucks—County—which was very agreeable, but on my return was much disappointed to hear thee had left Wilmington—and gone home, as I had in anticipation much satisfaction, with seeing thee in Philadelphia—but hope it will not be very long before I shall experience that pleasure—as I am told thee intends up before the meeting⁵⁸—and hope thee will stay some time after—as I can assure thee it is a Circumstance will give thy Connections here pleasure—Sister Hetty is particularly anxious as she is much attach'd to thee—I am sorry to tell thee of the indisposition of our several families—with this Chill and fever—Daddy is very poorly—Sister Gilpin⁵⁹—Brother Tommy and his wife⁶⁰—and their youngest Child, Dangerously ill—our servants have all had it but are now on the mending hand—a great number of people have it, but it is not a Dangerous Disease, little Billy's Disorder is of a different kind—I hope in a few days with proper attention they will be better—I felt a Check while I was writing the above, and believe I ought to have said with the assistance of a gracious Providence—as without that every help that man can give is equally vain—I hope thee may not meet with any discouragements with respect to thy coming up, as there is no Circumstances here to discourage thee, I want much to hear from Cousin S. Blundell, I hear she has had the Nervous fever, but hope she is better, Should be glad thee would let me know—

Debby Norris was to see me last evening. She is not at all satisfied with thy returning home, but was better pleas'd when I told her of thy still intending to visit us—I have not seen Sally Zane since I wrote thee—which was the day I left town—I hope She is well—and I want a Confirmation of it, if it were in my power but I am at present Closely Confined—and have almost Commenc'd Nurse—

Cousin Vining⁶¹ has this morning left Philadelphia and gone to visit Wilmington—Tommy Rodney⁶² came for her—she has thought

⁵⁸ The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was held Sept. 25-30, 1780.

⁵⁹ Lydia Fisher Gilpin (1736-1807).

⁶⁰ Thomas Fisher (1741-1810) and Sarah Logan Fisher (1751-1796) had been married in 1772 and apparently had three children in 1780. Their youngest child, "little Billy," is obviously William Logan Fisher, whose dates are given incorrectly (1781-1862) in Anna Smith's *Genealogy of the Fisher Family*, p. 45.

⁶¹ Phebe Wynkoop Vining (1729-1800) was the daughter of Abraham and Esther Fisher Wynkoop of Dover, and was the first cousin of Sarah Fisher of Philadelphia. In 1755, she married John Vining (? -1770), the stepson of Nicholas Ridgely. The Vining fortune was squandered by their brilliant but irresponsible son, John Middleton Vining (1758-1802). Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family*, p. 21.

⁶² Thomas Rodney (1744-1811), who married Elizabeth Fisher in 1771, belonged

of going to stay the Winter there—if Cousin Bessy⁶³ and she can accomodate matters—as every thing is so extravagant here she thinks it will not suit her—I saw Polly⁶⁴ to day she has been poorly—but is quite recover'd. She is much as usual—I feel for her Situation, as her fortune is greatly reduced, and she has it not in her power to help her self—She does not seem to be Sensible of it, if she was I cannot help believing she would study a little Oeconomy in her dress, etc. — Cousin feels it much, and claims the greatest tenderness from Every Connection—I wish it was in my power to make her Circumstances more easy, with how much pleasure wuld I soften those Cares that prey upon her Spirits, and disturbe the tranquility of her mind—but alas we all feel a degree of the same—and have daily instances of the distress that these worst of times brings upon us⁶⁵—the evils are numberless—it will answer no end to repine at the dispensations of providence—we must endeavour to bear them with resignation—and perhaps it may be consistant with his will, to remove the tempest, and we may after a time enjoy a calm—I have said much more than I intended when I began to write—but my pen has almost imperceptably gone over—I write in great haste which will I hope be my excuse for the roughness of this—

Hannah Redwood is also return'd to town. She desires her love to thee—and will be very glad to see thee,

I do not know any news or it would give me pleasure to Communicate it—there seems a Stagnation of political intelegance—but hope things are rather on a favourable footing

I beg next time thee intends for Philadelphia thee may not stop at Wilmington—if it has [such] an effect as to make thee home sick, if thee

to a distinguished Delaware family. He was a member of the Council of Safety in 1775, served as a colonel in the Militia during the Revolution, and was elected to serve in Congress from 1781 until 1783 and again from 1785 until 1787. Rodney's entry in his diary on Dec. 19, 1776, shows the political sympathies of the Fishers: "This morning I went to see Joshua Fisher's family, who is uncle to my wife, but are quakers and very great Tories. They seemed glad to see me, were all extremely cheerful, said that the contest would soon be over now; that the British would be in town in a day or two and invited me to sup at Thomas Fisher's that evening, which I accepted, and accordingly went. . . ." *Diary of Captain Thomas Rodney, 1776-1777* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 8 [Wilmington, 1888], pp. 15-16); Simon Gratz, "Thomas Rodney," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLIII, 1.

⁶³ Elizabeth Fisher Rodney.

⁶⁴ Mary Vining (1756-1821), daughter of John and Phebe Wynkoop Vining, was a famous beauty and is known as the sweetheart of General Anthony Wayne. Family letters refer to her as Polly. Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, pp. 30-31.

⁶⁵ Here Sally Fisher refers again to the sufferings of her family during the war.

does not come up I shall be quite displeas'd with Thee—unless it should be something not in thy power to prevent—

our several families hand their love to you all, in which they are joind by thy affectionate Cousin

SALLY FISHER

Seventh day afternoon 3 oclock—

do write me soon a very long letter if thee intends not to affront me—

[DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
DUCK CREEK]

[no date]

Thy visit to us, my dear friend, was like one from an Athereal being, we were scarcely sensible of the favor before we were deprived of it. — alas I had many things to say to thee that I did not say; but it cannot be better helped now, then by being as free, and unreserved as letters will admit of. — I was sick when thee left town, and I have never been out yet except to ride, an uncommon confinement to me, but I am now thro mercy recovered, and having nothing to regret from my sickness, which endeared my friends to me by their kindness and affection, at the same time that it read me a deep lecture on the uncertainty of all earthly enjoyments

does thee remember what thee said to me, as thee set at my bed side? What makes thee think of it? thee will probably say, and I answer that I can give thee no reason for it, however, we will call him Altamont,⁶⁶ to distinguish him from that D⁶⁷ who makes silly Girls believe he courts them; is thee mortified to be in that row? and was there ever any thing so impudent? short as thy stay in town was, it has helped us greatly, it has snuff'd⁶⁸ the lamp of friendship on my part, and

⁶⁶ *Altamont* was a young Genoese nobleman portrayed in *The Fair Penitent* by Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), one of the greatest of the Augustan playwrights. A popular tragedy, *The Fair Penitent*, was first produced in London at Lincoln's Inn Field in 1703, and was performed in Philadelphia by Lewis Hallam's company on Apr. 15, 1754, against much opposition from the Quakers. From the context of this letter, it might be assumed that *Altamont* refers to Dr. George Logan. Bernard Sobel, *The Theatre Handbook* (New York, 1948), p. 675; Arthur H. Quinn, *History of American Drama* (New York, 1923), p. 12.

⁶⁷ "D" could possibly stand for "Doctor."

⁶⁸ An early meaning of "snuff," in reference to snuffing a candle, was to free the candle from snuff, or the refuse part of the wick, thus allowing it to burn brighter. *Oxford English Dictionary*.

I fancy it has given us a mutual insight into each other which will be of infinite use to our correspondence, for there are many things to be seen and felt but which shrink into nothing's at an attempt to describe them; I was sensible of this when I saw thee and I always pay deference to these minutia for in friendship as in love trifles are not to be overlooked or neglected.

Leander laments that he did not see thee and if he thinks as I do I dont wonder at it, he is not in town now, what shall I say about him? he is an agreeable friend of mine, in spite of Patty Jones's ⁶⁹ poor opinion of platonic sentiments

How did you get home? If I do not mistake it was bad weather all the week after the day you set out. My dear Girl I have not a bit of news, this letter is full of myself and I cant help it, Only consider, I have never been out since We parted at the corner of Chesnut street ⁷⁰

Altamont has drank tea here, he is agreeable, his description of Italy is very entertaining.⁷¹ — how is poor Michael? ⁷² (Oh what transitions I make!) really I pity him, how unfortunate it is to fix the affections on an object if it cannot make a return. how insensible must that mind be that is desirous of having offers, meerly for the sake of refusing them, but my dear, we have the satisfaction of knowing our minds free from this blemish.

I hope my dear Sally thee will not refuse me the satisfaction of a long letter by so good a Conveyance, thee can say nothing that will be indiffant to me, who's heart is bound to thine by the tender ties of friendship, and who will never cease to think herself happy in subscribing thy most affectionate

D. NORRIS

⁶⁹ Patty Jones was perhaps one of the Jones sisters.

⁷⁰ The Norris house stood on Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets.

⁷¹ George Logan traveled through England, France, Holland, Germany, and Italy after completing his studies at Edinburgh, a fact which might point to Altamont's identity. Tolles, *George Logan of Philadelphia*, p. 39.

⁷² This is perhaps Michael Offley. If he had been spurned in love, he soon recovered, for, on Nov. 24, 1781, the Duck Creek Monthly Meeting reported that "Elizabeth Offley, wife of Michael," presented a certificate of transfer from Cecil Monthly Meeting, dated Aug. 8, 1781. Microfilm Minutes of Duck Creek MM, Friends Historical Library.

DEBORAH NORRIS, PHILADELPHIA, TO [SARAH FISHER,
DUCK CREEK]

[December ? 1780] ⁷³

Indeed my dear Girl it was Michaels ⁷⁴ fault that he left town without an answer to thy last favor, Nothing could be more agreeable to me than it was, if I had not loved the Amiable writer before, that letter would have won my heart, I return thee a thousand thanks for it, & shall think myself very happy if this Affords thee one half as much pleasure as thee gave to me by thine. Oh I have a thousand things to say to thee—Where shall I begin? What would I not give for a personal tete a tete with one to whom I can unbosom every thought of my heart, that heart willing to be dictated to, wishing to let aright. How severely must thy poor heart have been tried with the illness of thy parents, And then that accident that happened to thy sister—I feel what thee had to go thru, And I rejoice that thee did not suffer more severely, And that thy mind is as easy and as cheerful as by thy letter it appears to be; We should not My beloved friend be too much Oppressed by the ills of this life, it resembles a cloudy sky, And we should prize the little snatches of sunshine we may be favored with. What a variable life it is! I have met with a great many things some agreeable, some the contrary, since I parted with thee, And it would be a delightful task to me to repeat them in the ear of friendship. My Cousin Polly ⁷⁵ will be the bearer of this, I cannot accompany her as thee obligingly bid me to let thee hope I should, need I say what pleasure it would have given me to see, to converse with my dear Sally at this time? Cousin Johnny ⁷⁶ is a member of your Assembly which will meet at New Castle, And my Cousin Polly is too good a Wife to let him be there 6 weeks without her Company, so I shall get to see her at New Castle I hope, and then my dear friend shall I not see thee? I must, I will indulge the Agreeable idea; And then I will bid my Soul to unburden itself, I will tell my much lov'd friend the state of that Soul.

Yesterday I drank tea at Cousin D.⁷⁷ Betsy McLane and her spouse

⁷³ The date of this letter is approximated by Debby's reference to the meetings of the Assembly, which met at New Castle, Jan. 4 to Feb. 13, 1781. Henry C. Conrad, *Corrections and Addenda to Minutes of the Council of Delaware State from 1776 to 1792* (Dover, 1928).

⁷⁴ This is probably Michael Offley.

⁷⁵ Polly Norris Dickinson.

⁷⁶ John Dickinson.

⁷⁷ Debby is probably referring to the Dickinsons.

& brother had dined there, A good deal more Company was at tea, Betsy is admired, Almost every body wonders at her Choice, And yet he may be a very good sort of Man; Methinks I should be very much mortified with having it Universally thought I was too good for the Gentleman.⁷⁸

I must try to give thee some idea of the state of my Acquaintance here. Leander has been in Maryland these two months, he writes to Isaac⁷⁹ And has given us some expectation of his being in town this week. We wish for him for he is a great favourite with us; Hannah Pemberton has got an Admirer, but the dear creature is Angry at us for saying so, And yet it is positive fact, Isaac Wharton⁸⁰ is ye Gentleman, he had some pretty silks to dispose of And on Hannahs telling him that I wanted to see them, the other day he sent them up to me to look at. A saucy puss! She shall hear of this Again. Thee has heard no doubt that Hannah Smith⁸¹ has chang'd her name, seldom have I been more surprized than I was at that event, She is now Mrs. Cox, her spouse is distinguished by the elegance of his person and manners, he is sensible too, and Leander has frequently told me he exactly answer'd his idea of a Quaker Gentleman, the worst of it is that their courtship was very short, and their Marriage clandestine. Hannah has wrote to Hannah Pemberton, She appears happy, he writes part of the letter, their happiness is romantic, to one who's brain is as much turned that way as mine, it is not disagreeable, I hope it may prove lasting. Tobesure that affair of the letter that happned when thee was in town was sad enough as Hannah managed it, And I was sorry for it as it gave you all so Much Concern, And to tell the truth it would me had I been in either of your situations, but I do not blame thee My dear, I admire the gentle sensibility of thy heart which however I hope may never be put to the part even in disagreeable trifles for the future.

⁷⁸ Betsy Miller McLane came from a distinguished family; her father was descended from John and Priscilla Alden, and her mother was the daughter of a sea captain-planter of Talbot County, Maryland. The McLanes were considered "of middling rank." Leach, *The North American*, June 21, 1908.

⁷⁹ Isaac Norris, Debby's brother.

⁸⁰ Isaac Wharton (1745-1808) was the son of Joseph and Hannah Carpenter Wharton of "Walnut Grove." In 1786, he married Margaret Rawle (1760-1831), daughter of Francis and Rebecca Warner Rawle and one of the "social-circle" of Sally Wister. The Isaac Whartons later lived at "Woodford," a country house now preserved in Fairmount Park. Myers, *Sally Wister's Journal*, p. 192 n.

⁸¹ Hannah Smith (1753- ?) was the daughter of John and Hannah Logan Smith and the granddaughter of James Logan. Her father, having retired from business in Philadelphia in 1756, had moved his family to Burlington, New Jersey. Hannah Smith married John Cox, considered the ideal Quaker gentleman, of "Oxmeade," Burlington County, New Jersey, in January, 1780. Albert Cook Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship* (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 58.

Is Dr. Way⁸² agoing to be married? if he is, And to that person, I am disappointed in one of my prognostications, thats all. I dreamed about you last night I thought Dr. Parke brought me a letter; their is a report in town that Dr. Parke is dead, I hope it is not true for Jennys sake. her sister Peggy has taken a very serious turn.

the world says that Abija⁸³ pays his humble devoirs to thy amiable Cousin, she is a sweet girl, And I hope will not dignify him with her Choice Without he is worthy, I have but a slender Acquaintance with him, too slender to offer my opinion, he accidentally waited on me home twice, & I thought him clever, And very obliging, Hannah Redwood⁸⁴ is a great Belle, I admire her prodigiously.

I have a little Cousin that I am delighted with, does thee know Polly Wells⁸⁵ my dear? It is her I mean, she has a thousand good qualities, With the most becoming diffidence and modesty, As to her person I dare not praise it, because it is said that we are enough Alike to be sisters, tho I am sure that the compliment is so much on my side that I might very safely express my admiration of her, her person is good, her shape very graceful; I take great delight in cultivating her friendship, And I believe the dear little Creature loves me. I introduced her to Altamont the other day. they, and Cousin Dickinsons dined with us, And we

⁸² Dr. Nicholas Way (1750?-1797), who was an eminent physician, resided at the corner of Third and Shipley Streets in Wilmington. He was a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, a trustee of the Wilmington Academy, and a member of the "Committee of Correspondence at the meeting of Committees of Pennsylvania and Delaware Canal Companies together with a number of respectable citizens from the States of Maryland and Delaware held at Wilmington in the State of Delaware, June 18th, 1793." (MSS. in the Historical Society of Delaware.) During the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, Dr. Way opened his house to refugees from Philadelphia, and later moving to Philadelphia, he died of the fever in the epidemic of 1797. Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington*, pp. 206, 258.

⁸³ Abijah Dawes (1748-1816), son of Edward and Mary Dawes, was a Philadelphia merchant and owned property in Wilmington. Contrary to Debby Norris' hopes, he married Sarah Fisher, of Philadelphia, Mar. 9, 1785. Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family*, p. 53.

⁸⁴ Hannah Redwood was evidently recovering from the shock of her fiancé's death and was attempting to make a comeback in society. She became the third wife of Charles Wharton (1743-1836) in 1784. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 543.

⁸⁵ Mary (Polly) Wells (1764-1819) was the daughter of Richard Wells, who had emigrated to Philadelphia in 1750, and Rachel Hill Wells. Through her mother, Polly Wells was descended from Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1691-1693, and by this connection was a second cousin, once removed, of Debby Norris. In 1785, she married Benjamin Wistar Morris, son of Captain Samuel Morris and Rebecca Wistar Morris. About 1800, the Morris moved to Tioga County, Pennsylvania, where they were among the earliest settlers of Wellsboro, which was named for the Wells family. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 57.

had an agreeable day I thought. Since I have mentioned Altamont, how came thee my dear to write so about him? he is a great Beau here No wonder when we have such a scarcity but seriously I think him very agreeable, And should be very much obliged to the World if it would spare its Conjectures because I should appear less Awkward, but that it will not do for thee or I.

pray My dear do not make any Apologies for thy letters they are delightful to me—Oh how I love to receive those sweet communications of a friendship Which I esteem invaluable; Continue to love in spite of all her levities, for the sake of the goodness of her heart, & her unfeigned love of thee thy

DEBBY NORRIS

SALLY FISHER, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
CROSS ROADS, KENT COUNTY

[Spring, 1781?] ⁸⁶

MY DEAR COUSIN

Not withstanding I so lately wrote thee, I could not omit writing thee, by so good an opportunity as my Sister and Friend Catharol, as I know it will give thee pleasure to hear from me, tho but a few lines, it is intirely the motive for my giving thee this testimony of my remembrance. as I am rather busy having several little Matters to get in readiness for this setting of[f] which is a very grand one. I have little news to communicate, or thee may be assur'd I should not delay informing thee of it—did I tell thee, in my last letter what an unfortunate Circumstance has happen'd to me, least I did not I will now mention it—thee remembers a letter Tommy Rodney gave me for Debby, I wish'd to take particular care of it, and in so doing, was unlucky enough to loose it, it has given me pain, as I know how great a Disappointment it most have been to her—espentially at a time when there was a subject of importance Convey'd thro that means—I have us'd every endeavour, to get it but as yet they have been ineffectual, did thee see or hear anything of it—after our return—

⁸⁶ In this letter, Sally Fisher refers to the approaching marriage of Debby Norris and Dr. George Logan. Since the engagement was known by February of 1781, when Anna Rawle remarked that "Doctor Logan will have a prize in her—their intended marriage will much disappoint one of the same profession, by what I have heard," and the letter indicates that the wedding is several months away, the date is an approximate one. Myers, *Sally Wister's Journal*, p. 116.

Well my Dear the Doctor has been in town he drank tea with me on Six Day, he is cleaver, I wish I could find out wheather he is engaged or not, our girls seem to doubt it, we all teaz'd him Robert and he are certainly rivals, tho very good natur'd ones—on Seventh Day we were at uncle Redwood's⁸⁷ Hannah Pemberton was of our party—the Doctor told us of thy returning he said it was his intention all a long to attend thee home if in his power, but he had so often been disappointed in his intentions he did not chuse thee should know it, therefore made a bargain with S. Paxton, to go in his stead, but when the time of setting off[f] came, he found if any person was to attempt going it would undoubtedly offend Vincent whose intentioni was too much fix'd to admit a Change, in the galant of his very Esteemd, Sally—we talk'd of the evening we spent there—he say, the overseers of their meeting approbated it—I told him it never on my own account gave me a moments pain—I wonder thee should think he jointd thee, thy sentiment on the occasion was not just for he much wonders thee should imagine any impropriety in it—Debby was to see me a few days since indeed we had a little party. N. Robberts. H and S-Pemberton, H. Redwood—Robert and J Wharton⁸⁸ were all our Beaus—the wedding is not to be till fall, I am told, as Doctor Logan cannot get a house—Debby look'd beautiful as she always does—she has since hurt her eye, though not very bad, it has confin'd her to the house—

our Hannah's desire their love to thee, the sudden conclusion of this journey prevents their writing thee—Jonathan Halls Daughters are in town, they spent yesterday here, with Maria, I am much pleas'd with them, they wish an acquaintance at the Crossroads—

Sally Zane desires her love to thee, I spend yesterday with her a[t] friend Shipleys. I ask'd her to write thee, but she declin'd it—with saying the Corospondance was now clos'd unless again reviv'd by thee—I wish thee would write her—her brother Isaac is dayli expected, we took Doctor Way to see her one evening, and there was mention'd by some of the Company a scheme she has in Contemplation—but it will never be successful—I think I am safe in saying—thee knows what it is my repeating it will be quite unnecessary—I dont believe

⁸⁷ "Uncle Redwood" is probably William Redwood, the father of Hannah Redwood and her sister Sarah, who was married to Sarah Fisher's brother Meirs. William Redwood had come to Philadelphia from Newport, Rhode Island. Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City*, p. 25.

⁸⁸ The Whartons mentioned are possibly Robert Wharton (1757-1834), son of Joseph and Hannah Owen-Ogden Wharton, and his cousin James Wharton, who was the son of James and Mary Hogg Wharton. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 541.

thee will be able to read this letter, I am in so much haste that I can scarcely tell what I do write—

has thee heard the Match between Nancy Emlen ⁸⁹ and Jacob Lindly ⁹⁰ is at leas[t] for the present broke off—the cause is much unknown—she is up at friend Lightfoots ⁹¹—who is getting better, tho it is mostly thought she will never quite recover, Rachel Woodcock is up there also the Doctor inform'd us—farewell my Dear Cousin and believe me thy affectionate Cousin

SALLY FISHER
fourth Day Morning

do write me by Sister Hetty—or I shall be affronted [if] thee say, thee had not time—I shall not think it a laudible excuse—as I have tho with dificulty found a Moment to devote to friendship—

SALLY FISHER, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
DUCK CREEK CROSS ROADS

[1781?] ⁹²

I wrote my Dear Cousin a long letter some days since but our Cousin going out of town in the morning I thought I could not omit giving thee a few lines—tho I hope thee has received mine ere this time—it went by a person who was going to the head of Chester ⁹³—

⁸⁹ Nancy Emlen was presumably Anne Emlen (1755-1815), who was the daughter of George and Anne Reckless Emlen. A letter in the Corbit-Higgins-Spruance Papers, from Anne Emlen to Sally Fisher and dated June 12, 1781, refers guardedly to disappointments in love, probably the reasons for the breaking of the engagement. There was no reconciliation, for Anne Emlen became the second wife of Warner Mifflin, Oct. 9, 1788. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 194.

⁹⁰ Jacob Lindley (1744-1814) was the son of Jonathan and Rebecca Lindley of New Garden, Chester County, and became a noted minister in the Society of Friends, doing missionary work among the Indians. William P. Townsend, *A Brief Narrative of the Life of Jacob Lindley* (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 5.

⁹¹ "Friend Lightfoot" is probably Susanna Lightfoot, who died May 8, 1781, and was buried at Uwchlan, Chester County. "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher," p. 427.

⁹² Frederick B. Tolles feels that Dr. Logan made his plans to go to England before his marriage to Debby Norris, and thus this letter is given an approximate date prior to September, 1781, when they were married. Tolles, *George Logan of Philadelphia*, p. 48.

⁹³ The reference is to the Chester River in Maryland. It was near this point that Sally Fisher's brother-in-law, Thomas Gilpin, founded the town of Gilpinton (now Millington) in 1753. Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen*, p. 345.

I have the pleasure of handing thee a letter from Caroline—and have let the other girls know of the opportunity—perhaps they may write—

I was sorry to be informed of Cousin Polly's⁹⁴ indisposition but hope she may be so recovered as to permit thy seeing us at the meeting—the weather favours such an excursion, and I am determined to anticipate the prospect—

Doct. Logan has removed to our City, and in a short time goes to Virginia from whence he intends if convenient to sail for Europe, where he means to settle, and if his prospect answers, means to send for Debby—

I have not time neither will my disposition of mind admit of my saying much, thee may readily excuse it as thee will receive such a long Epistle from me—

I have sent a pair of Cotton Stockings which I suppose are thine. I did not know of their being here very long—and Concluded it not very improbable thee might have changed a pair with me, which I have missed—tho it is also probable they may be lost other ways—they were mark'd S. F. Number one—

Our several families are tolerably well—My Sister and Self's affectionate love attends you all—and believe me
Thy affectionate Cousin

SALLY FISHER
Philadelphia
6th Day

SALLY FISHER, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
CROSS ROADS, KENT COUNTY

[August 1781]⁹⁵

DEAR COUSIN thy very acceptable letter was handed me yesterday by Doct. Parke, which I was much pleas'd at receiving, and have obey'd thy Caution, in not mentioning it to any of the Girls, thy Corospondants tho I am convinced they are possess'd of too much good sense to imagine it was neglect, if they knew it was for want of time, they did not receive a letter—

⁹⁴ Mary Holliday Fisher, the mother of Sally Fisher, of Duck Creek.

⁹⁵ This letter is approximately dated by the reference to Samuel Rowland Fisher's release from prison, July 25, 1781. "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher," p. 448.

I thank thee for thy kind congratulations in my brothers release,⁹⁶ it is a very joyous Circumstance to all his friends. The prospect our Dear Relatives have of seeing him at the Grove quarter⁹⁷ will be disappointed as he has no thought of being there—and the View we have of seeing Kent is rather distant. I expect to have some of your Company in Philadelphia first—do my dear endeavor to Come up at the meeting⁹⁸—

I felt a disappointment in not returning with Joshua but as I was then situated it was not in my power, as Brothers Sammy was very poorly and Confind, it would have been Consider'd as wanting in affection, if no other motive was an [inducement] to such a Conduct—I hope you do not blame me, I was as much oblig'd by Joshua's coming to Town, as it discover'd your kindness and feel a greater obligation than if it had been Convenient for me to have accompany'd him—

how much pleasure would it give me to join my Cousins at the Western quarter and accompany them home it would give me the greatest satisfaction, but it is not in my power at present, but it will not be very long I hope if no intervening Cloud should prevent before I shall see the place where so many of my Valuable Relatives, and friends reside—

thee desired me to get thee some Leathern Mitts but they Came high and I found it impossible to procure much more than one pair for the money thee sent me. I thought best therefore to get thee Nankeen⁹⁹ as one pair of those are of more use than many Leathern ones and with the addition of one Shilling to what thee sent I have got thee the pattern for too pair, which is a yard and a half—

the Silk was intended to have been sent by thy Brother but he forgot it tho it was lain with his letters. thee shall receive it now—I have several times intended mentioning to thee, respecting thy Saddle which has a long time been here, I have several times thought of sending it, but the risk of having it taken in the river, I thought would not justify me in such a Conduct, whatever is thy wish respecting it I shall thank thee to let me know and it shall immediately be comply'd with—

⁹⁶ After two years' confinement, Samuel Rowland Fisher was released with an acknowledgment of his innocence.

⁹⁷ This is a reference to the Quarterly Meeting (Western Quarter) held at London Grove, Chester County, Aug. 20, 1781. Sarah Fisher and her brother attended the Quarterly Meeting at Burlington, New Jersey, Aug. 25, 1781. "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher," p. 455.

⁹⁸ The Yearly Meeting of Friends was held at Philadelphia, Sept. 23, 1781. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

⁹⁹ "Nankeen" was a brownish-yellow cloth of great durability, originally brought from China.

Thee has heard no doubt of the appearance of the Doct. and Debby,¹⁰⁰ it was Cleaver the Doct more plain that I had seen him since his return. Debby's dress was neatness and elegance, she look'd charmingly. he must be entirely insensible to every delicate and refin'd sentiment if he does not feel the most tender attachment for her, she indeed a lovely girl. she behaved compos'd and a tranquility reign'd throughout her Countenance during the Meeting—she spoke as well as ever I heard a person, quite inteligeble to [e]very person I believe present—her attendants are three amiable girls—one of them through indisposition was not able to attend on her last meeting, but she is now perfectly recover'd, it was Polly Wells—she is the sweetest little girl in the world, or one of them—

Doct Parke is now at the door on horseback I must bid thee an abrupt adieu

believe me thy
Affectionate Cousin

SALLY FISHER

SALLY FISHER, PHILADELPHIA, TO SALLY FISHER,
CROSS-ROADS, KENT COUNTY

[December 16, 1781]¹⁰¹

My Dear Cousin's very pleasing Epistle was handed some days since, and many attempts have I made to answer it, but every one has prov'd insufficient to complete my designs—as retirement is much wanted in our house, and I have been much indispos'd with a Violent Cold and Cough, which yet confines me to the house—but what is more distressing it dims my mental faculties—I have wrote but one letter since I left Kent and that I expect thee received—some engagements have taken my time and attention much, I have had a Visitor between two and three weeks—and in the Confidence of Frien[d]ship I have freedom to mention it to thee—he is now gone. there is nothing materral in the matter, I

¹⁰⁰ Frederick B. Tolles has interpreted this paragraph as the description of the wedding of Dr. George Logan and Deborah Norris, which took place at the High Street Meeting House on Sept. 6, 1781. However, the references in the letter to Samuel Fisher's release and to the quarterly meetings indicate that the scene described is the meeting at which the intentions of marriage were first announced, July 27, 1781. Tolles, *George Logan of Philadelphia*, pp. 49-50; Letter from Eleanor Melson, Clerk in the Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Apr. 2, 1954.

¹⁰¹ The Lewis-Wharton wedding mentioned by Sally Fisher took place on Dec. 13, 1781, and is the basis for the dating of this letter. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 541.

may say with propriety so, as it is left for a time and may be it will now finally close—let me beg no eye but thy own may peruse this—as it is a matter I wish to remain in a state of secrecy, as no good effect can arise from a knowledge of it, to any person—he is a man who merits my most respectful civility, tho thee might consider him in the line of plainness, too much for my disposition—believe me there is nothing in it—our folks have just gone to meeting and left me to dictate a letter to my Cousin Sally which must be done against they return as I expect Cleora Emma and Peggy Pleasants¹⁰² from Virginia to drink tea with me, and I. Ecroy'd [Ecroyd] lets me know he must have my dispatches this Evening—often do I reflect on the many agreeable hours I spent at the happy little Village—where harmony gladdens the Countenances of its peaceful inhabitants—Idealy do I revisit you again and divert my imagination with a retrospaective scene—but soon the delusive Charm vanishes, and I find myself mistaken in the quietness of my dwelling—as Philadelphia is much a stranger to those Calm delights that are the Experience of the envied Vilager, Leontine¹⁰³ has politely offerd to attend me down at any time I may shirk [*sic*] proper which inclination would sudget to me soon, but other considerations must have a great weight in the scale—and I must now suspend my wishes till the genial season approaches—which may perhaps prove propitious to expectations I have form'd ever since our parting, of another jaunt—Maria will with heart felt pleasure be my attendant on a like tour—Dear girl she has been much with me since my return—and has paid me that affectionate respect which will gain an admittance in any heart, not incapable of the soft emotions of Friendship—I always lov'd her, but an encrease is my experience—what a pleasing addition should I consider my beloved Cousin Sally, to our little friendly Circle, thee would help to enliven moments wherein little of the agreeable is known—as there are not many in the list of pleasing adventures—

I must lay down my pen and resume it in the Evening as I expect meeting is done—

8 oClock first day evening—

Well my Dear the leterary Converse, is again Commenced, but after so much Verbal Communication as we have had my mind seems more fit for retirement than for any other employment—there has been quite

¹⁰² The three Pleasants sisters were perhaps relatives of Maria Pleasants Logan. Debby Norris wrote to Sally Wister, Jan. 27, 1777, of Nancy and Polly Pleasants, who may have been members of the same family. Myers, *Sally Wister's Journal*, p. 190.

¹⁰³ *Leontine* is apparently the false name given to one of the eligible young men of Philadelphia. Neither the man nor the allusion has been identified.

a female party of us—only think five fine girls and one Married Lady, without one male attendant—thee must know the girls—Maria & Lucretia, with the others I mentioned before—Matrimony has been made the subject—and I have not a little shared in their banter, they have heard strange reports concerning me, but they are without foundation, Billy Lewis ¹⁰⁴ was married last fifth day Evening, he beeing Leontine's uncle it has engross'd much of the attention of our Circle, and the girls have been giving me an account of the appearance, as I am confined and did not go to the meeting—

whether Debby Logan can find time to write thee I do not know, I have been thinking she may say with Rosalinda in Elizabeth Rowe ¹⁰⁵—“the romance is now finish'd, the drama is come to a conclusion. I have been Married these three Months and from the sober regular way of life I am now in thee must expect no more Epistles—” it seems she is perfectly domestic, stays much at home, and employs her mind in the useful study of family affairs—contrary to my expectation, I thought she would have enjoy'd the polite Circle with more pleasure than when her situation was different—She is an amiable woman may find the Doct. in every respect worthy of her is my sincere wish—no retirement is attainable the family have all enterd the room, and Johny with them, so it will not be in my power to say much more—

thee must take an excuse to Joshua tho I do not think one is necessary, as I think he might have wrote me, tho Ceremony would not have prevented me—Cleora's kind love attends thee she says the weather is so cold she cannot yet write—but intends doing it soon—my very kind love attends all your family, for whom I feel a strong affection—and shall esteem it a pleasure when ever its in my power any way to evince it—this letter was intended to have been quite in the longness—but it is out of my power, do let hear from thee soon—give my affectionate love to thy worthy parents, tell Cousin Fenwick I shall write him yet for all I have left it so long—

I want much to hear if our friend Eusebus ¹⁰⁶ has been yet at Dover;

¹⁰⁴ William Lewis married Rachel Wharton, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Owen-Ogden Wharton of “Walnut Grove,” Dec. 13, 1781. Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 541.

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth Rowe (1674-1737), one of the outstanding writers of the Augustan Age, won the praise of both Pope and Dr. Johnson. Most of her writings took the form of correspondence, such as *Friendship in Death, in Twenty Letters from the Dead to the Living* (1728). Her *Letters Moral and Entertaining* (1729-1733) were written with the purpose of “exciting religious sentiment in the careless and dissipated.” *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1909), XVII, 339.

¹⁰⁶ Eusebus was evidently another beau.

and how our little Creek lad¹⁰⁷ comes on—if thee does not tell me something after I have Communicated thus freely I shall be much offended with thee—

I have sent some little tokens of my remembrance of which I beg your acceptance—give my love to I—tell him I often think of him—and a letter from him will please me—do not let him see this letter I request of thee, but if thee tells him I desire it he will,

Daddy and Sister Hetty desire their kind love may be handed you all—and accept a large share from thy ever affectionate

Cousin

SALLY FISHER

“Eternal blessings crown my Dearest friend,

“And round her dwelling guardian saints attend,

first day evening—

dont mention to any person living what I have mentioned,

SALLY FISHER, PHILADELPHIA TO [SALLY FISHER,
DUCK CREEK CROSS ROADS]

[March 30, 1782]¹⁰⁸

[First page missing, no address]

. . . & estimate the blessing right—his sister has been in the City during this week, she is really a Very fine girl—Leontine is much taken with her, what will be the Consequence of so much attention I do not yet know, it looks rather suspicious.

Thee remembers an acquaintance of ours by the Name of Horatio,¹⁰⁹ he was one rank'd first in the list of agreeables—a surprising Circumstance has happen'd to him in the Matrimonial way, without even the

¹⁰⁷ The “little Creek lad” may have been Daniel Cowgill, who is mentioned in other letters and whose family lived at Little Creek, near Dover.

¹⁰⁸ The letter is dated by the reference to the calamity which struck John Dickinson's house on Mar. 27, 1782. John Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 421.

¹⁰⁹ Horatio was Richard Wistar (1756-1821), a promising young hardware merchant and the son of Richard and Sarah Wyatt Wistar. On Mar. 14, 1782, he was married, contrary to the practice of Friends, to his first cousin, Sarah Morris, the daughter of Captain Samuel Morris and Rebecca Wistar Morris. Two weeks later, Mar. 29, 1782, the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting recorded the following minute: “Richard Wistar; disowned for marriage contrary to discipline with first cousin Sarah Morris, dt. of Samuel, also for being part owner of a warship.” Jordan, *Colonial Families*, p. 259; Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, II, 603.

suspensions of his friends—he was Married to his first Cousin, it has been the subject of much Conversation, they have retired to the Country to stay till the affair has lost its Novelty—Very little news presents, not one Wedding, nor not one like to be, in the Circle of acquaintance, at least soon.

an exception which I forgot—but I suppose D. Cowgill¹¹⁰ will inform thee, I told him of it—that is our friends H. Miller and J- Lindley¹¹¹—it is undoubtly true, my intelligence is from the “fountain-head”—I approve it much, it will be a union of Worthies—and there is little reason to question but their lives will be blest with Divine Sanction—how much Caution does this important step require, as it “Cast the Die” for the remainder of our lives—may we my Dear Cousin properly consider the weight—thee mentions in thy last letter my mentioning the influence of love, I was entirely jesting as I believe thee sufficiently wary—

my father has some thoughts of seeing you at the meeting—the pleasing impression still Continuing, that his last Visit made on his Mind—my intention of seeing Kent still remains with force, but when it will be in my power to comply with it, is very uncertain—

There has within this few Days a very Meloncholy accident happen'd at the house of Johny Dickinson, occupied by the french Minister,¹¹² it was occasion'd by a dreadful flash of Lightning and thunder. the house in every part is more or less shatter'd, the furniture mostly destroy'd, and [e]very thing almost inside the house carries the appearance of Devastation—all this is trifling when compared with the horrid

¹¹⁰ This is probably Daniel Cowgill.

¹¹¹ Jacob Lindley, who had previously been engaged to Anne Emlen, married Hannah Miller, the widow of William Miller, Nov. 14, 1782. Mrs. Lindley was active in the Society of Friends, as was her husband. She died in 1798 as a result of contracting yellow fever at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Townsend, *Jacob Lindley*, p. 5.

¹¹² John Dickinson's town house faced on Chestnut Street, its large garden extending from Sixth Street to Seventh. Called “Carpenter's Mansion” for its builder, Joshua Carpenter, it was occupied successively by Governor Thomas and his lady, and by Dr. Thomas Graeme, the son-in-law of Sir William Keith and father of Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, the poetess. Dickinson used the house during some of the sessions of the Continental Congress, and it was later turned into a hospital for the infantry of Virginia and Pennsylvania when they were stricken with camp fever. In 1779, the house was acquired by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French minister to the United States, as his legation. In a storm on Mar. 27, 1782, the house was struck by lightning, which caused extensive damage to the building and its furnishings. All necessary repairs had apparently been completed by July 15, 1782, when the Minister entertained at a splendid affair in honor of the birth of the Dauphin. Armes, *Nancy Shippen, Her Journal*, pp. 38, 75; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, p. 421.

situacion it has thrown a poor Man in ¹¹³—he lays now in the Most extreem agony, if he survives he is an entire Cripple, what an affecting Circumstance is it not sufficient to Convince us what helpless Mortals we are, and to how many Dangers we constantly are subject to, unless protected by an over ruling Providence—no doubt this Circumstance is design'd for some good purpose, may it leave an impression in the Minds of many, of the terriableness of the displeasure of our gracious father—it has been a place much devoted to Dissapation.

our friend Ann Harlan was in town at this Meeting, and made our house her home, she is a fine woman, she mentioned thy being at her house and her thoughts with respect to the intentions of thy attendant—what will Daniel say, he fully believes it—I half suspect he is a Confident tho he would not own it—he waited on Cleora ¹¹⁴ last evening to know if she would embrace the present opportunity Which she declined, telling him she expected a very good one shortly—I had doubts whether it would have been in my power either to have given thee a line, and I must tell thee of all my promises, that I had hardly time, and miserable impliments, my ink is grounds, My pen bad, and my knife no edge—

I should be glad to hear whether thy neighbour Pake ¹¹⁵ got her Bonnet and how it suited her, and also my Dear, respecting thine. I have made some enquiry for a Padusoy, ¹¹⁶ but yet have not been lucky enough to meet with one, my exertions shall be used, but I want to know, if in Case I cannot get a Padusoy, I may be justified in Buying thee a Sattin, as soon as I hear from thee, I shall obey thy Command, tho in the mean time I will try to get thy first Choice—and the first suitable opportunity thee shall have it—

tell Cousin Fenwick he has not Complied with my request in answering my letter, he must therefore expect no more of mine, my kind love attends him and Cousin Polly—

¹¹³ The "poor Man" was M. de Meaux, a French officer, who was struck and died of his injuries several days later. De Meaux was lieutenant en second, Regiment d'Auxonne, serving under Rochambeau. Scharf and Westcott, *ibid.*; Senate Document No. 77, 58th Congress, *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Americaine, 1778-1783* (Washington, 1903).

¹¹⁴ "Cleora" may be Cleora Pleasants, mentioned in the preceding letter.

¹¹⁵ This is perhaps a misspelling of Parke. Anne Emlen, writing to Sally Fisher, of Duck Creek, June 12, 1781, asked that her regards be given to "thy dear Neighbour J. Parke." Corbit-Higgins-Spruance Papers.

¹¹⁶ Padusoy (paduasoy or *pou-de-soie*) was a rich and heavy corded silk, which would seem to be an unusual cloth for Quaker women to wear. Mrs. Gummere comments: "Quakers have always shown their exquisite taste in choice of materials, and have instinctively realized that nothing but the best stuffs would lend themselves with dignity to the severe simplicity of their garb." Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Quaker, a Study in Costume* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 163.

the Doct. and Debby move to Stenton in a few days ¹¹⁷—a little party of us drank tea at Charle's the other day—Debby seem'd in pritty good spirits, and pleas'd with the idea of her new habbitation, may the reallity exceed her sanguine expectations—the Doct. looks thin, but was tolerably chatty. D. looked Charming, her dress was elegant neatness—she mention'd thee, and asked when I had heard from thee—said she had written to thee—our girls were not pleas'd with thy not being up, Leontine also expressed his disappointment.¹¹⁸ thee shall hear from me fully by the friends at the meeting perhaps by that time I may know when I shall Come down—tho it would gratify me more if thee would return with the Phila 's and stay some time with us ¹¹⁹—Sister Hetty is very anxious for it—but talking has so long been all that I begin to give up the enjoyment.

Please to hand my kind love to every of our Connections, who deem me worth their remembrance—and also to our friends—not forgetting our Cousin Johny,¹²⁰ whose steady Conduct affords me real satisfaction, may he persevere, and make Business his Chiefest pleasure, it will be a Comfort to his afflicted Mother, superior to every earthly happiness she knows—or Can experience—I feel an increasing affection for him since my last seeing him—a similarity of sufferings endear us to each other, in feeling for him I felt my own affliction—I hope the effects will be happy in his experience.

Adieu my Dear Cousin, my paper is now full thee can therefore have no more—remember me to all the Children, in which I am join'd by our family, and believe me thy affectionate Cousin,

SALLY FISHER

—third month 30—

¹¹⁷ George Logan gave up the practice of medicine in Philadelphia after a few years and retired to Stenton to farm the estate which he had inherited from his father. Tolles, *George Logan of Philadelphia*, p. 50.

¹¹⁸ The Quarterly Meeting had been held in Philadelphia the day before this letter was written, and perhaps Sally Fisher had been expected in the city at that time. Letter from Eleanor Melson, Apr. 2, 1954.

¹¹⁹ The meeting referred to is probably the Quarterly Meeting at London Grove, which was often attended by Friends from both Duck Creek and Philadelphia.

¹²⁰ John Middleton Vining (1758-1802) was a handsome man, brilliant both in conversation and in the courtroom. However, he was imprudent, and being accustomed to wealth, he spent money lavishly, thus squandering his family's fortune. He was admitted to the bar on Feb. 21, 1782, and it is perhaps to this encouraging event that his cousin Sally Fisher refers. He served Delaware as a member of the Continental Congress from 1784 until 1786, as Delaware's first United States Representative in Congress, 1789-1793, and as United States Senator from 1793 to 1798. He died penniless in 1802, leaving four orphan children who were raised by his sister, the celebrated Mary Vining. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 1651; Mabel Lloyd Ridgely, *What Them Befell* (Portland, Maine, 1949), p. 167.

[SALLY ZANE], SOCIAL-COURT, TO SALLY FISHER, KENT

[October 23, 1782]

When I left my dear Sally, without taking leave the eve preceding the day, I was to lose her entirely for what length Time I cannot tell, (Time itself must manifest,) My heart was expanded, & fraught with the Tenderest emotions; Those that flow, on the separation of Congenial Minds. — Thou my Dear, who possesses so large a share of Sensibility, can readily determine, what force of feeling and disagreeable Sensations, arises when hope, & fear, Alternate roll; such has been my Situation, since Thy kind Invitation which has been lately renewed with redoubl'd Ardour, To Visit that Harmonious Mansion of which thou art a Resident. — The Accomplishment of which was rather doubtful in my own Bosom: why, I could not tell; the wish'd for period is Arriv'd, when we were to have proceeded. — And I now find, good comes out of evil, if I may stile this disappointment such, A person arriv'd Embassy from my Br. Isaac upon business of Consequence, that will demand the familys immediate Attention: and my honoured Father's particularly, till its too late to Your Meeting. — But myself has a secret hope, that I shall be gratify'd in this much desired Journey before many [months]. — I wish sincerely it could have been effected at the present Crisis, but my Amiable frd. will be Oblidg'd to Accept this as a substitute Myself am much indispos'd with a swelling in my Neck which am fearful will terminate in a gathering, and of itself would have prevented us—I should be Glad to hear from thee as soon as thou can, and whether the[e] Expects to be at the Grove Quarter,¹²¹ at whose House, in case I shou'd go, which is Urg'd much—

Shall I send the[e] an Escript out of Paragraph of a letter from my dr. Br.? Thou art one of the Circle I will, “. it would have been of infinite pleasure to have had Society with you but so seems the fate of things how does thy good Acquaintance S. F. and when does she return home? my best respect be pleas'd to make her.["] I see thy Cousin Sally last Eveng. a few moments, we had no tete a tete—It would be very satisfactory to me to Enjoy the Company & Converse of those Selected few whom I cherish an endear'd Affection for, much more frequent than falls to my lot, Probably from the same causes I am denied as deprived me of more of thine when here; it went very hard

¹²¹ This is a reference to the Quarterly Meeting held at London Grove, Nov. 18, 1782. Letter from Eleanor Melson, Apr. 2, 1954.

with me I assure the[e], After promising myself so Considerable a Share as I intended.

Sally Pemberton goes to spend more days at Stanton [*sic*] with the Doctr. and his Agreeable Debby, she is really a fine Amiable Woman—its pleasing to see there is a reunion with Debby and her former chosen Acquaintance After so Supine an intimacy as has been This 18 mos. past—The lustre of which I hope may prove a lasting cement through a Terrestrial Eden—May the Day Dawn & the Sun of Righteousness arise and shine still higher & brighter leading us to chose the good and eschew the evil After it has gain'd the Mendian [Median] and closeing its Course Our Evening Song may be fill'd with the Assurances of a Crown of Glory, an Admittance in the heav'ns eternal is the most Ardent Wish of thy

Affectionate
SZ

Social-Court
10th moth. 23rd—82

[DEBORAH NORRIS LOGAN, STENTON, TO SALLY FISHER OF
DUCK CREEK]

[no date]

Debby Logan presents her most affect. love to her friend Sally Fisher and is extreamly sorry she was obliged to leave town without seeing her. — from a message she received from her sister, she expected to have had that pleasure last first day evening, at her Mama's,¹²² Otherwise she shd. have call'd on her. —

D. L. hopes her friend will not return to Kent, without visiting Stenton, if she has no conveyance, and will be so good as to send word when she shall be disengaged, a chaise will be at her service.

Third day afternoon

¹²² Mrs. Charles Norris, Debby Logan's mother.

Communicant Records, 1713-56

Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church

PART IV: 1724-26

Transcribed and edited by
COURTLAND B. and RUTH L. SPRINGER

NO matter how well a family history is written, from the best materials available and with the most scrupulous care, the historian must expect that fresh sources of information may someday be found which will throw light on obscure places, point up flaws, and even change the accepted pattern of family relationships. The manuscript records of Holy Trinity Church are a great source of fresh information, and we should like to share with our readers some brief notes on the Jaquett family which have grown out of our study of these original records and out of the research which they inspire.

Three payments to "Anton Ja Qvet," who was a blacksmith, are included in the 1724 record of church expenditure: ¹ for mending the church spade (probably the one given by Edward Robinson in 1715,² to be used in digging graves), for "smithy work" on the well, and for hinges for the priest-house windows, two locks for the doors being supplied the following year.³ On November 29, 1724,⁴ Anthony Jaquet married Catharina Giöding, Holy Trinity communicant and daughter of the former schoolmaster, John Giöding, and Anna (Erickson) Stalcop, his wife.⁵ Anthony himself did not become a communicant, but his

¹ Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁵ *Delaware History*, V, 285, n. 33.

wife continued in faithful attendance and their children were baptized in the church.

Further inquiry about Anthony brings out, interestingly enough, the fact that he was a son of Peter Jaquet, Sr., of Christiana Ferry, not a son of Peter's brother John as the published family records state.⁶ On June 15, 1733, James Steel of the Land Office in Philadelphia wrote a letter to John Hore, surveyor, about a piece of land "that old Peter Jaquet in his lifetime, and since his Death, his son Anthony hath often apply'd for."⁷ A deed dated February 19, 1739, describes land which Peter Clawson had bought from Anthony Jaquet and refers to "Peter Jaquet, father of the aforesaid Anthony."⁸

Eldest of Jean Paul Jaquet's three sons, Peter Jaquet outlived his younger brothers, John, of Swanwick, New Castle County, and Paul, of New Jersey, by many years. An inventory of John's estate was made on March 30, 1692;⁹ Paul's will was recorded in Salem County, New Jersey, on December 9, 1702.¹⁰ Holy Trinity records show that Peter was living in 1713, when his wife, Maria, was present in the church as a baptismal sponsor,¹¹ and in 1720, when his infant granddaughter Maria was buried in his garden.¹² The wording of a Land Office entry for November 24, 1725,¹³ reporting a request from Paul, Peter, and Anthony Jaquet "at Christian Ferry" for the grant of a parcel of vacant marsh adjoining "their land" on Christina Creek, implies their father's death, although an inventory of his goods, the only administration record now remaining so far as we can discover, was not made until October 12, 1730.¹⁴

Samuel Kirk and Jehu Curtis, appraisers, found most of

⁶ Edwin Jaquett Sellers, *Genealogy of the Jaquett Family* (revised ed.; Philadelphia, 1907), p. 108, and Sellers, *De Carpentier Allied Ancestry* (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 43.

⁷ James Steel's Letter Book, No. 2, 1730-41, p. 54 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁸ New Castle County Deeds, Book M-1, p. 373.

⁹ Delaware State Archives, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware.

¹⁰ *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, 1670-1730*, published in the *Archives . . . of New Jersey*, First Series, XXIII [Paterson, N. J., 1901], 256.

¹¹ Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 22.

¹² *Delaware History*, V, 185.

¹³ *Minutes of the Board of Property of the Province of Pennsylvania*, published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX (Harrisburg, 1893), 738.

¹⁴ State Archives, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware.

Peter Jaquet's possessions "old," the adjective so often applied to the man himself. All the furnishings of his household, including his books and a broken writing desk, share in the general description. Peter's violin, however, is listed without comment, and is valued at ten shillings. Another asset, more highly regarded by the appraisers, is

one half of ye Shalloop w ^{ch}	} 51:0:-
Charles Empson sayles in w th	
ye half of ye Boat - - - -	

The list includes a "new" boat, as well, the only item so distinguished, and 298 pounds of "Muscovady" sugar, a mulatto woman slave, a quantity of boards and shingles, and 25 "pare" of women's shoes. When a revised history of the Jaquett family is written its compiler will find this long document worth studying.

"Young" Peter Jaquet, Peter's son, lived at Christiana Ferry and was a farmer, but he may have shared in his father's mercantile and shipping interests. The identity of his wife, Martha, who as his widow is called Martha Danford in Orphans' Court records,¹⁵ is not yet known. At least three of their children, Maria, Martha, and Thomas, were baptized at Holy Trinity Church; two others, Peter and Susannah, are named in records pertaining to their father's estate.

Another Peter Jaquet, called Peter, Jr., a cousin of "Young" Peter of Christiana Ferry, lived at Swanwick, not far from New Castle, where he had a pew at Immanuel Church.¹⁶ On July 20, 1718, "Peter ja Quett's hustru [wife], Annika, på [at, on, from] Swanwik," was a baptismal sponsor in Holy Trinity Church.¹⁷ As elder son and heir of John Jaquet, of Swanwick, Peter, Jr., or Peter of Swanwick, as he is more conveniently known, had his father's real estate, to which he himself added other property, including the Long Hook farm.¹⁸ His will, dated January 3,

¹⁵ New Castle County Orphans' Court Records, Book C, p. 40.

¹⁶ Thomas Holcomb, *History of Immanuel Church*, p. 108.

¹⁷ Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 85.

¹⁸ We are grateful to Miss Jeannette Eckman for identifying as "Long Hook Farm" the property conveyed to Peter Jaquet, of Swanwick, on Feb. 19, 1721, by William Maslander and Alice, his wife. (Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book G-1, p. 188.)

1726, is not recorded, but it is quoted, in part, in a deed from his son Joseph¹⁹ and is referred to in other deeds from his heirs. His widow, Ann, as administratrix of his estate, filed an inventory of his goods and chattels on January 16, 1732/3,²⁰ but the actual "prasment" is dated "aprill in the Seacond year of our . . . [part of the page is gone] Great Britain," which, according to similarly dated deeds of George II's reign, was 1729. Final administration accounts are entered on the inventory itself, which doubtless explains the lapse of years before it was filed, and are set down with great care, providing for the widow's third part and dividing the remainder into eight equal portions, to the half-farthing, to give each child a due share.

In stating that Peter of Swanwick, ancestor of Major Peter Jaquett of the Revolution, was a son of Peter Jaquet, Sr., of Christiana Ferry, the family historian makes a surprising error.²¹ The import of one especially valuable deed dated May 8, 1788,²² in which John Jaquet, grandson of Peter of Swanwick, reviews his lineage in a clear, decisive manner, with easily confirmed references to earlier records, seems to have been entirely lost, although a somewhat confused abstract of its contents appears in the printed works.

Cornelius Jaquet, son of John and younger brother of Peter of Swanwick, married Maria Pålsson (Paulson)²³ and lived on Fern Hook, where his land adjoined that of "Mrs. Kerstin" Paulson of the communicant records. If we have evaluated baptismal sponsor lists and other church records correctly, Mrs. Kerstin was his mother-in-law. Cornelius' own mother must have died in his early childhood, for her wearing apparel is appraised in the 1692 inventory of her husband's estate. The inventory also includes "one parsell of tools for Cornelius," two feather beds, with pillows, "given the Children for their use," and "one bundle of Children or babee linen." Cornelius

¹⁹ New Castle County Deeds, Book Q-1, p. 164. Cf. New Castle County Wills, Book G-1, p. 106, for the will of Ann Dushane, of "Swanhook," Peter Jaquet's widow.

²⁰ State Archives, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware. This inventory, with its many interesting entries, well repays careful reading even though one section of the folded sheet is missing.

²¹ Sellers, *Jacquett Family*, p. 118; *De Carpentier . . . Ancestry*, p. 40.

²² New Castle County Deeds, Book N-2, p. 82.

²³ Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 77.

and Maria Jaquet were regular communicants at Holy Trinity Church, and their children were baptized there; some of them were buried in the churchyard. Maria's own grave, with a well-preserved headstone, is there, beside that of her son Casparus.

One final note taken from a somewhat later period may not be out of place here, since the church books do indeed throw new light upon the incident. On Thursday, September 7, 1786, the Reverend Mr. Laurence Girelius, pastor of Holy Trinity Church, visited the home of John Jaquet, of New Castle Hundred, referred to above as a grandson of Peter of Swanwick, for the purpose of baptizing three of the Jaquet servants. His carefully written record of the occasion reads: ²⁴

Philothea	{	Bapt'd ye 7th hujus at John Jaquet's belonging to himself and his Sisters.
Cathrine		
John		

As transcribed for the 1890 publication of Holy Trinity records,²⁵ however, the entry becomes: "Dorothea, Catharine and John, baptized 7th, parent, John Jaquett"!

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1724

[Second Book, p. 152]

- JANUARY
4. Johannes Månsson, in his illness.
 6. Conrad Constantine. Måns Gustafsson, with his wife, Catharina. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Old Peter Månsson's widow, Annika. The late [Johan] Giöding's widow, Annika. Catharina Giöding. Jonas Stalcop. Israel Stalcop. Hans Smith and his wife, Maria. Margareta Stalcop.
 12. The pastor at Vicaco [Wicaco], Herr Mag[ister] Jonas Lidman.
 19. Jonas Walraven, with his wife, Annika. Walraven Walraven. Jonas Walraven. Jean [Johan] Mårtensson.

²⁴ Holy Trinity Records, Third Book, p. 725.

²⁵ Horace Burr, *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773 . . . with an Abstract of the English Records from 1773 to 1810* (Wilmington, 1890), p. 659.

Mårten Mårtensson and his wife, Kerstin. Samuel Petersson and his wife, Kerstin. Hindric Stedham, with his wife, Catharina. Peter Petersson, with his wife, Karin, and the son Hans Pettersson.

- FEBRUARY**
8. Mr. Springer's wife, Maria, in her illness.
 9. Jean Kulen [Culen, von Culen], with his wife, Kerstin. Erasmus Stedham, with his wife, Helena. Annika, Petter's daughter, Caupony. Maria Matthews.
 16. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Jesper Walraven. The weaver, Jonas Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Petter Pålson's wife, Geizie. Paul Pålson. Elizabeth, Eric's daughter, Hamalin. Maria Hamalein.
- MARCH**
29. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Christiern Steelman. Gustaf Gustafson and his wife, Kerstin. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Jacob Stille, with his wife, Rebecca. Edvard Robbesson's [Robinson's] wife, Elizabeth. Maria Braun.²⁶
- APRIL**
5. The pastor, Sam:[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita. Mr. Carl Springer, with his wife, Maria. Johannes Springer. Carolus Springer, with his wife, Margareta. Wiljam Clenny [Cleneay], with his wife, Maria. Thomas Scott, with his wife, Catharina. Hindric Garitzson's widow, Mrs. Annika, with the daughter Elizabeth. Joh.[an] Garritzon's widow, Mrs. Anna. Christiern, Negro. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Peter Classon, with his wife, Walborg. Jean Seeds' wife, Brita.
 12. Jacobus Hein, with his wife, Kerstin.
 15. Erasmus Stedham's wife, Helena, in her travail.
 26. Hans Smith, with his wife, Maria. Hindric Hindrics-son, Senior, with his wife, Judith, and the daughter

²⁶ Communicant records tell us that Maria Braun (Brown) was Robert Braun's widow (*Delaware History*, V, 278). Her constant attendance, year after year, in companionship with Elizabeth Peterson (later, Elizabeth Robinson; cf. *ibid.*, VI, 147, n. 27) suggests that the two were sisters.

Survey maps show that Robert Brown had land at an early period, probably before 1700, just across Naaman's Creek from William Talley's property. Part of the Brown land was set off for Robert Cloud in 1702, and later maps show the remainder in the hands of Benjamin Moulder. When Brown died is not indicated. (Cf. Taylor Papers, Vols. VII, 1190, 1365, and VI, 1075, 1088. [Historical Society of Pennsylvania.])

Maria Hindricsson.²⁷ Margareta Stalcop. - Jean Stalcop, with his wife, Maria.

- MAY 3. Christiern Brunberg, with his wife, Maria. Anders Stalcop, Petter's son. Johannes Månsson, with his wife, Ingebohr. Joh.[an] Tossava's widow, Annika. Young Peter Månsson's widow, Annika.
24. The pastor, Herr Mag:[ister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita. [Johan William] Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, Margareta. Jean Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Jonas Walraven, with his wife, Annika, and the sons: Walraven and Jonas [Walraven,] Jean Mårten. Mårten Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Samuel Petersson, with his wife, Kerstin. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Peter Petersson, with his wife, Karin, and the son Hans Petersson. Hindric Stedham and his wife, Catharina. Wiljam Werdeman, with his wife, Magdalena. Erasmus Stedham. Annika, Peter's daughter, Caupony. Conratt Constantine, with his son Augustine Constantine. Thomos Jones' wife, Margareta.

JUNE 3. Sara Mejier [Meyer], in her illness.

JULY 20. The pastor, Mag:[ister] Samuel Hesselius, in his illness, with his wife, Brita.

[Page 153:]

AUGUST 23. The pastor, Herr Mag:[ister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius, in his illness, with his wife, Brita. The pastor from Jarsey, Herr Mag:[ister] Abraham Lidenius, with his wife, Elizabeth. The pastor from Vicacoo [Wicaco], Herr Mag:[ister] Jonas Lidman. Mr. Carl Springer, with his wife, Maria. Johannes Springer. Carolus Springer and his wife, Marget. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Lucas Stedham, Senior, with

²⁷ On Nov. 6, 1723 (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 139), Maria, daughter of Hendrick and Judith Hendrickson, married Andrew Hendrickson; hence, a repetition of the surname in the communicant entry.

his wife, Karin. Jonas Stedham. Lucas Stedham, Junior, with his wife, Ingebohr. Israel Petersson, Senior, with his wife, Marget. Gustaf Gustafson, with his wife, Kerstin. Jonas Walraven, Senior, with his wife, Annika, and the sons Walraven Walraven and Jonas Walraven. Maria Mathews. Conratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Jean Mårtn. Jean Tossava's widow, Annika. Jacob Stille, with his wife, Rebecca. Hans Smith, with his wife, Maria. Marget Stalcop. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Christiern Steelman. Mårten Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Anders Kock, with his wife, Sara. Peter Månsson, Junior's, widow, Annika. Hindric Hindricsson, with his wife, Judith. Thimotheus Stedham, with his wife, Elizabeth. Peter Pålsson's wife, Giezie [*sic*]. Paul Pålson. Hindric Garritzson's widow, Annika. Elizabeth Garritzson. Anders Justis, with his wife, Brita. Maria Braun. And.[ers] Vinan's wife, Marget. Anders Hindricsson, with his wife, Maria.

SEPTEMBER 20. Edvard Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Christiern Brunberg, with his wife, Maria. Samuel Petersson, with his wife, Kerstin. The weaver, Jonas Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Old Peter Månsson's widow, Annika. Andreas Stalcop, Senior, with his wife, Barbru. Jonas Stalcop. Catharina Giöding.

OCTOBER 18. The pastor from Jarsey, Herr Mag:[ister] Abraham Lidenius, with his wife, Elizabeth. The pastor from Vicacoo, Herr Mag:[ister] Jonas Lidman. The pastor [at Christina], Herr Mag:[ister] Samuel Hesselius, with his wife, Brita. Christien, Negro. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Jean Stalcop, with his wife, Maria. Conratt Constantine, with his son Augustine. Wiljam Werdeman, with his wife, Magdalena. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Jean Culen, with his wife, Kerstin. Israel Stalcop, with his wife, Susanna. Erasmus Stedham. Annika, Petter's daughter, Caupony.

- NOVEMBER 8. Jonas Walraven's widow, Annika. Walraven Walraven. Jonas Jonasson Walraven. Jean Mårtensson. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Mårten Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin. Jonas Jespersson Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Jesper Walraven, with his wife, Anna. The late Jesp.[er] Walraven's widow, Kerstin. Elizabeth, Eric's daughter, Hamelin. Philip Vandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Wiljam Clenny, with his wife, Maria. Stephan Cornelius, with his wife, Wiljaminke. Jacob Hein, with his wife, Kerstin.
11. And.[ers] Kock's wife, Sara, in her travail.
29. Joh.[an] Tossava's widow, Annika. Hindric Stedham. Cornelius Jaqvett [Jaquett], with his wife, Maria. Johannes Månsson, with his wife, Ingebohr. Jacob Stille, with his wife, Rebecca.
- DECEMBER 12. The pastor, Mag.[ister] Sam:[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita, in her illness.

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1725

[Second Book, p. 160]

- JANUARY 1. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Peter Månsson's widow, Annika. Sara Meyer. Brita Seeds. Hindric Hindricsson, Senior, with his wife, Judith. Anders Hindricsson, with his wife, Maria. Thomos Scott, with his wife, Catharina. Samuel Petersson, with his wife, Kerstin. Maria Braun. Edvard Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Hindric Garritzson's widow, Annika. Gustaf Gustafson, with his wife, Kerstin. Anders Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. And.[ers] Vainan's wife, Margareta. Hans Smith, with his wife, Maria. Margareta Stalcop. Peter Classon, with his wife, Walborg. Jean Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Eric Ericsson's widow, Annika.
- FEBRUARY 21. The pastor, Herr Mag.[ister] Samuel Hesselius', wife, Brita. Old Peter Månsson's widow, Karin. Olle Månsson, with his wife, Annika. Marget Howl

[Howell].²⁸ Jonas Jonasson Walraven. Walraven Walraven. The late Jonas Walraven's widow, Annika. Johan Mårten. Garrit Garritzon, with his wife, Elizabeth. Annika, Peter's daughter, Caupony.

- MARCH 21. The pastor from Jarsey, Herr Mag[ister] Abraham Lidenius. The pastor [at Christina], Herr Mag[ister] Samuel Hesselius, with his wife, Brita. The late Jesper Walraven's widow, Kerstin. Lucas Stedham, with his wife, Carin. Jonas Stedham. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Mårten Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin. Mr. Carl Springer, with his wife, Maria. Johannes Springer. Carolus Springer, with his wife, Margareta. Christiern Steelman. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Conratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Annika Tossava. Hindric Garritzson's widow, Annika, with her daughter Elizabeth. Peter Petersson, with his wife, Carin. Jean Hindricsson, with his wife, Brita. Johan Culen, with his wife, Kerstin. Jonas Jespersson Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Wiljam Clenny, with his wife, Maria. Jacob Stille, with his wife, Rebecca. Wiljam White, with his wife, Maria. Jesper Walraven, with his wife, Annika. Peter Pålson from fernhook [*sic*],²⁹ with his wife, Catharina. Peter Pålson's wife, Geizie.

²⁸ Sponsors at the baptism of William and Margareta "Howell's" child Elisabeth on Jan. 8, 1721 (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 118), were "Timotheus Lylofsson Stedham and his wife, Elisabeth, 'in the family.'"

In an earlier record, Apr. 22, 1717 (*ibid.*, p. 79), "Mich.[el] Meyer, Timoth.[eus] Benedsson [Benjamin's son] Stedham, Hindr.[ich] Stedh.[am's] wife, Elisabeth, and Margr.[eta] Van de Wer" were sponsors for William and Margareta Howell's child Patience.

²⁹ With this writing of "fernhook," a place name well known in our own day, Samuel Hesselius departs from the custom of writing "Fårehuken" (Sheep Hook) which he and his predecessors had followed regularly from the beginning of the church records. The first list of those who contributed money for the building of the church includes the widow "på fårehuken," the late Wholle (William) Pahlsson's widow (Holy Trinity Records, First Book, p. 30). The marriage of Peter Pålsson, "på Fårehuken," and Catharina Kock (Cock), the communicants of this present entry, took place on Oct. 20, 1720 (*ibid.*, Second Book, p. 107).

Fern Hook was not, however, a new name in 1725, for it is found in land records of a much earlier date (cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book A-1, p. 182, Sept. 15, 1684, Arnoldus Delagrange to "Oalla Pauwels" [William Paulson]; land on "the Ferne Hooke"), and is the natural product of a three-language society. To the English,

Paul Pålson. Christiern Brunberg, with his wife, Maria. Mathias Petersson.³⁰ Edvard Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Maria Braun. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Brewr Seneca, with his wife, Brita. Old Hans Petersson's widow, Annika.

28. Lucas Stedham, Junior, with his wife, Ingebohr. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Hindric Hindrics-son, with his wife, Judith. Anders Hindricsson, with his wife, Maria.

MAY

23. The pastor, Herr Mag.[ister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita. Johan Hindricsson, with his wife, Brita. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Garrit Garritzson, with his wife, Elizabeth. Hind.[ric] Garritzson's widow, Annika. Elizabeth Garritzson. Peter Clas-son, with his wife, Walborg. Erasmus Stedham. Anders Cock, with his wife, Sara. Mathias Peters-son. Edv.[ard] Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Maria Braun. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Con-

the Swedish word for sheep suggested the more familiar Dutch word for fern, "varen," the Dutch "v" having the sound of "f," and the supposed Varenhuken became Fern Hook. We are grateful to the Honorable C. A. C. Tensen, Netherlands vice-consul in Philadelphia, for his helpful comments on this interesting bit of Delaware history.

"Furu udden," Pine, or Pinewood, Point, or, in a suitable location, Fir Point, the name applied to the Fern Hook area by Peter Lindeström, Swedish surveyor, in drawing a map based on his 1654-55 visit to New Sweden (cf. his *Geographica Americae*, translated by Amandus Johnson [Philadelphia, 1925], p. 156), seems not to have remained in general popular use. It was, however, as Dr. A. R. Dunlap, of the University of Delaware, points out, the source of the term Fire Hook which appears in many early records as an alternate name for Fern Hook. The likeness between "furu" and "vuur," the Dutch word for fire, is apparent. Dr. Dunlap, whom we thank very much for the privilege of quoting these observations, calls attention also to a variant form, Vuyren Hook (miscopied as Unyren Hook), based upon "vuuren," plural of "vuur," which appears in Duke of York records (*Original Land Titles in Delaware . . . The Duke of York Record . . . 1646 to 1679* [Wilmington, 1903]) and in subsequent deeds for the same property.

³⁰ Few records of Mathias Peterson, son of Mathias (Matthias, Matz) and Elizabeth (Justis?) Peterson, remain, other than the entries in the church books which show him as a regular communicant and as a baptismal sponsor on several occasions. Apparently he died unmarried. His will, dated Jan. 6, 1731/2, is quoted in deeds referring to his property, a portion of which he bequeathed to his nephew Mathias, son of Samuel and Christiana (Morton) Peterson, with the remainder to another nephew, Peter Brynberg, son of Christian and Maria (Peterson) Brynberg. (Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book E-3, p. 411.)

ratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Sara Meyer. Marget Howl. Antilli [Anders] Stalcop, with his wife, Barbro. Samuel Petersson, with his wife, Kerstin. Peter Månsson's widow, Annika.

- JUNE 27. The pastor from Vicacow [Wicaco], Mag.[ister] Jonas Lidman. The pastor from Jarsey-congregation, Mag.[ister] Abraham Lidenius, with his wife, Elizabeth. The pastor, Herr Mag.[ister] Samuel Hesselius, with his wife, Brita. Annika Tossava. Wiljam Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, Maria. Gustaf Gustafson, with his wife, Kerstin. Eric Ericson's widow, Annika. Old Peter Månsson's widow, Karin. Olle Månsson, with his wife, Annika. Johannes Månsson, with his wife, Ingebohr. Olle Pålson, with his wife, Elizabeth.³¹ Christiern Brunberg, with his wife, Maria. Thomos Jones' wife, Margareta. Hindric Hindricsson, with his wife, Judith. Anders Hindricsson, with his wife, Maria. Hans Smith, with his wife, Maria. Israel Stalcop, with his wife, Susanna.³²

³¹ In February, 1715 (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 49, of which a portion is now gone), Olof Pålsson married Mrs. Elisabeth Colsberg (later, Colesberry), widow of Swen Colsberg. Cf. the reference to Henry Colesberry, who was Elizabeth (Colesberry) Paulson's son, in a deed given by William and Elizabeth Paulson on Aug. 10, 1738 (New Castle County Deeds, Book M-1, p. 368). Also cf. *Delaware History*, V, 279, entry for June 27, 1714, and p. 282, entry for Apr. 17, 1715.

The deed cited above, with others (Book Q-1, pp. 448, 458), proves that Elizabeth, wife of William (Olof, Woolla) Paulson, of Fern Hook, was a daughter of Hendrick Anderson of Crane Hook.

The terms of William Paulson's will, dated Mar. 10, 1739 (cf. his burial, *Delaware History*, V, 194), so far as they affect his two sons, William and Peter, are recited in Deed Book Q-1, p. 458, where information about Peter's will, dated Mar. 20, 1748, is also given. This latter will, with bequests to Peter's brother, William, and to his sister, Susannah Stalcop, is recorded in Will Book G-1, p. 139.

³² Both church and deed records indicate that Susanna(h) Jaquet, who married Israel Stalcop on Aug. 9, 1720 (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 107), was Anthony Jaquet's sister and, therefore, a daughter of Peter Jaquet, Sr.

After Israel Stalcop's death in 1725 (*Delaware History*, V, 187) his widow married Daniel Turner, eldest son of Thomas and Maria (Van Oblinus) Tourneur, of French Huguenot descent. Cf. the will of John Stalcop, son of Israel, which refers to his mother, Susannah Turner, and to his "father," Daniel Turner (New Castle County Wills, Book G-1, p. 140). Cf. also the will of "Tomas Tournier" (his signature), dated at Harlem, in the Province of New York, July 25, 1709, and probated in New Castle County, Mar. 29, 1716, by his widow, Mary Alrichs (*ibid.*, Book C-1, p. 35), and well-documented notes on the origin of the Turner family, prepared by Charles Henry Black Turner, in the collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the account of church expenses for the years 1724-25 it is interesting to find

- AUGUST 1. The pastor, Herr Mag.[ister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita. Christiern Steelman. Johan Von Culen, with his wife, Kerstin. Brewr Seneca, with his wife, Brita. Jesper Walraven, with his wife, Annika. The late Jonas Walraven's widow, Annika, with her son Joh.[an] Mårten. Walraven Walraven. Jonas Jonasson Walraven. Jonás Jaspersson Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Anders Cock, with his wife, Sara. The late Jesper Walraven's widow, Kerstin.
[Page 161:]
29. Mr. Carl Springer, with his wife, Maria. Johannes Springer. Cornelius JaQvat, with his wife, Maria. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Conratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Peter Classon, with his wife, Walborg. Erasmus Stedham. Jonas Stalcop, with his wife, Helena.
- OCTOBER 31. Anders Hindricsson, with his wife, Maria. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Hind.[ric] Garritzon's widow, Annika, with her daughter Elizabeth. Garrit Garritzon, with his wife, Elizabeth.
- NOVEMBER 9. Israel Stalcop, in his illness.
13. Hans Petersson's widow, Annika, in her illness.
21. Gustaf Gustafson, with his wife, Kerstin. Susanna Stalcop. Christiern Brunberg, with his wife, Maria. Johan Mårtensson, with his wife, Margareta. Samuel Petersson, with his wife, Kerstin. Hans Smith, with his wife, Maria. Thom.[as] Jones' wife, Margareta. Hans Petersson. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Carolus Springer, with his wife, Margareta. Johan Hindricsson, with his wife, Brita. Brewr Seneca, with his wife, Brita. Jesper Walraven, with his wife, Annika. The late Jesp.[er] Walr.-

payments to three persons of undoubted French ancestry: to Anton Ja Qvet, for work already described (footnotes 1-3, above), to Thomas Torner (Daniel Turner's younger brother) for repairs to the church "benches," and to W:(illiam) Clenny (Cleneay), for mending the churchyard gate. (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, pp. 156, 167.)

[aven's] widow, Kerstin. Pålvel [Paul] Pålson. Peter Pålson's wife, Geizie. Annika, Peter's daughter, Caupony. Conratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Lucas Stedham, Senior, with his wife, Carin. Jonas Stedham. Christiern Steelman. Anders Loynam, with his wife, Brita.

- DECEMBER 12. The pastor, Herr Mag.[ister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita. The late Jonas Walraven's widow, Annika. Walraven Walraven, with his wife, Kerstin. Jonas Jonasson Walraven. Anders Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Lucas Stedham, Junior, with his wife, Ingebohr. Thomas Scott, with his wife, Catharina. Jacob Hein, with his wife, Kerstin.

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1726

[Second Book, p. 169]

- JANUARY 1. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Hindric Stedham, with his wife, Catharina. Philip Vandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Antilli Stalcoy, with his wife, Barbro. Old Peter Månsson's widow, Karin. Israel Petersson, with his wife, Margareta.
14. George Reed's ³³ wife, Sara, in her illness.

³³ Two deeds signed by George Read (*sic*) of White Clay Creek Hundred, a weaver by trade, convey land bequeathed to him by his father, who had held one of the tracts as early as 1685. (New Castle County Deeds, Books H-2, p. 194, dated Dec. 23, 1720, but recorded Nov. 25, 1789 [this deed signed also by Read's wife, Sarah, with her mark], and H-1, p. 45, Feb. 28, 1725/6.)

The elder George Read, who also was a weaver, refers in his will, dated Mar. 22, 1712 (New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 182), to his two apprentice boys, calling one Jonas, with no attempt made to spell the last name, for which space was left, and the other, John Davis. The name Jonas was not a common one at that time, and it seems quite possible that Jonas Jespersson Walraven, called "the weaver" in communicant records, was one of George Read's apprentice boys.

Evidences of close association between the Read and Robinson families suggest that the elder George Read's wife may have been a daughter of Robert Robinson and a sister of Edward Robinson. (Cf. *Delaware History*, VI, 147, n. 27.)

That the second George Read, who died in 1751 (*Delaware History*, V, 197), had a son George whose baptism is not recorded in the church books becomes apparent when we learn that letters of administration on the estate of George Read, Jr., were granted on Feb. 25, 1747/8 (New Castle County Wills, Book G-1, p. 80), to Luke Mounce, who was a son of Johannes and Ingeborg (Stedham) Månsson. The widowed Ingeborg Månsson married George Read on Oct. 3, 1727 (Holy Trinity Records, Second

16. The Herr Provost, Mag.[ister] Jonas Lidman. The pastor, Mag.[ister] Samuel Hesselius, with his wife, Brita. Maria Braun. Edward Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Timotheus Stedham, with his wife, Elizabeth. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Conratt Constantine. Augustinē Constantine.

FEBRUARY 6. Peter Classon, with his wife, Walborg. John V.[on] Culen, with his wife, Kerstin. Johannes Månsson, with his wife, Ingebohr. Jonas Jespersson Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Annika Tossava.

MARCH 18. Johannes Månsson, in his illness.
20. Hendric Garritzon's widow, Annika. Elizabeth Garritzon. Garrit Garritzon, with his wife, Elizabeth. Mr. Carl Springer, with his wife, Maria. Johannes Springer. Carolus Springer, with his wife, Margareta. Peter Petersson, Senior, with his wife, Karin. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita, Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Mårten Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin. Gustaf Gustafson, with his wife, Kerstin. Cornelius La Qvet [Jaquett], with his wife, Maria. Annika, Peter's daughter, Caupony. Brewr Seneca, with his wife, Brita. Susanna Stalcop. Thomos Scott, with his wife, Catharina. Conratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Val[entine] Cock's widow, Elizabeth.³⁴ Ant.[on] La Qvet's wife, Catharina.

Book, p. 183), his first wife, Sara, having died the year before (*Delaware History*, V, 187). If George Read, Jr., was Ingeborg's son, Luke Mounce was his half brother; if he was Sara's son, as seems likely, there was still a close bond between them.

³⁴ On Apr. 20, 1720 (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 106), Elizabeth, widow of Christian Jurianson, of the Christina congregation, married Valentine Cock, of Boon's Island, Kingessing Township, Philadelphia County, a member of the Wicaco congregation. Cock died after the January, 1724/25 signing, with several of his neighbors, of a bond for road work on "Kingsess Creek" (Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania), and before Aug. 4, 1725, when his widow, Elizabeth, renounced her right as administratrix in favor of Valentine's eldest son, Andrew. On Sept. 11, 1725, letters of administration were granted to Andrew Cock, of "Kingsess," yeoman, who signed his bond the same day, having Johannis Nys, of Philadelphia, silversmith, and Christopher Swanson, of Wicaco (Andrew's uncle) as fellow-bondsmen. (Philadelphia Administrations, No. 105, 1725.)

Valentine Cock's first wife, Margaret, daughter of Andrew and Anna Swanson, of Wicaco (cf. Philadelphia Deeds, Book F, No. 3, p. 475), was living on May 11, 1716,

- APRIL 10. The pastor, M.[agister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita. Jesper Walraven, with his wife, Annika. Wiljam Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, Maria. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Jonas Jespersson Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Eric Ericsson's widow, Annika. Paul Pålsson. J.[ohan] Seeds' wife, Brita. Matthias Petersson. Christiern Brunberg, with his wife, Maria. Peter Petersson, Caupony, with his wife, Magdalena. Anders Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Edv.[ard] Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Maria Braun. Anti [Anders] Vinan's wife, Margareta. Jonas Walraven's widow, Annika. Samuel Petersson, with his wife, Kerstin. Thom:[as] Jones' wife, Margareta. Marget Howl. Jonas Jonasson Walraven.
- MAY 8. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Th.[omas] Jones' wife, Margareta. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Olle Månsson, with his wife, Annika. Old Peter Månsson's widow, Karin. John Mårten,

when an earlier deed which she and her husband and others had made was acknowledged before Justice James Logan (*ibid.*, Book E, No. 7, Vol. X, p. 158). In the 1697-98 census of the Wicaco congregation (cf. *Pennsylvania Magazine*, II, 227) "Valentine Ernest Cox" and his wife, "Margret, daughter of Swanson," are listed. Margaret Swanson's sister Elizabeth married Peter Cock and is referred to in deed records as "Elizabeth Cocks, widow" at the same period as our communicant references to Elizabeth, widow of Valentine Cock, so that care must be taken to avoid confusion.

How Valentine Cock happened to meet and to marry the widow of Christian Jurianson of Fish Point (on Red Lion Creek), New Castle County, we could not even surmise, there being no apparent connection between the families. In reading some of James Logan's letters to Isaac Taylor, Chester County surveyor, however, we found, under date of Feb. 1, 1719/20 (Taylor Papers, XIV, No. 2935, Historical Society of Pennsylvania), these enlightening words: "This now comes by Valentine Cock who with another person of Christina desire [*sic*] to purchase fifteen hundd. Acres of those Surveyd. Lands" (surveyed to William Penn in right of Sir John Fagg and being "to ye West of the London Tract"). In another letter written a fortnight later, Logan tells of hearing that "Val. Cock" has already offered to sell the land for which he applied (*ibid.*, No. 2941). The name of his partner in Christina is not disclosed, but it may well have been some member of the Justis family, ancient neighbors of the Cock family, or some representative of the New Castle County Cocks. Valentine's residence in Christina was apparently a temporary one (cf. Philadelphia Deeds, Book F, No. 4, p. 284, June 4, 1724), but it gave him an opportunity to meet and to marry Elizabeth Jurianson.

Administration accounts for Valentine Cock's estate include a cash payment on Aug. 13, 1730, to Sophia "Urionson," who was a daughter of Christian and Elizabeth Jurianson (cf. Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 22, and Christian's will, New Castle County Wills, Book C-1, p. 60).

with his wife, Marget. Peter Pålson, with his wife, Catharina.

23. Sara Mejer, in her illness.

29. Brewr Seneca, with his wife, Brita. Susanna Stalcop. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Christiern Steelman. Peter Classon, with his wife, Walborg. John V.[oñ] Culen, with his wife, Kerstin. The widow Kerstin Pålsson. Hindric Hindricsson, with his wife, Judith. Anders Hindricsson, with his wife, Maria. Conratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Phal.[entine, i. e., Valentine] Cock's widow, Elizabeth.

JULY

3. The pastor, M.[agister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius' wife, Brita. And.[ers] Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Philip W.[andever], with his wife, Elizabeth. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Eric Ericsson's widow, Annika. Jon.[as] Walr.[aven's] widow, Annika. Jonas Jonasson Walraven. W.[alraven] Walraven's wife, Kerstin. Andrisi [Anders] Kock, with his wife, Sara. Matthias Petersson. Johan Hindricsson, with his wife, Brita. Luc:[as] Stedham's wife, Carin. Jonas Stedham. Lucas Stedham, Junior, with his wife, Ingebohr.

AUGUST

7. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Peter Petersson, Smith, with his wife, Annika. Th.[omas] Jones' wife, Margareta. Garrit Garritzon's wife, Elizabeth. Elizabeth Garritzon. Hind.[ric] Garritzon's widow, Annika. Peter Petersson, with his wife, Karin. Joh.[an] Månsson's wife, Ingebohr. Annika Tossava. Sara Mejer. Olle Pålson, with his wife, Elizabeth. Wiljam White, with his wife, Maria. Mårten [Page 170:] Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin. Gustaf Gustafson, with his wife, Kerstin. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Jonas Jespersson Walraven. Jesper Walraven, with his wife, Annika. Wiljam Clenny, with his wife, Maria. Jacob Stille, with his wife, Rebecca. Anders Hindricsson, with his wife, Maria. Hindric Hindricsson, with his wife, Judith. Peter [Petersson,] Caupony's, wife, Magdalena. Annika [Peterssen,] Caupony. Edv-

[ard] Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Maria Braun. Antilli Stalcop, with his wife, Barbro. Brewr Seneca, with his wife, Brita. Christiern Brunberg, with his wife, Maria. Wiljam Cock's wife, Emy [Amy].³⁵

12. Lucas Stedham, Senior, in his illness, and Maria Stedham.
17. Jesper Robbesson's wife, Magdalena, in her illness.

SEPTEMBER 4. The Herr Provost, Jonas Lidman. The pastor from Jarsey, Mag.[ister] Petrus Tranberg. Mag.[ister] Andreas Windrufwa. Pastor Loci, Mag.[ister] Samuel Hesselius, with his wife, Brita. Jacob Wandewer, with his wife, Maria. Andrishi Cock, with his wife, Sara. John Mårten, with his wife, Marget. Christiern Steelman. Susanna Stalcop. Hans Smith, with his wife, Maria. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Conratt Constantine. Walet.[ine, i. e., Valentine] Cock's widow, Elizabeth. Johannes Månsson, with his wife, Ingebohr. Mr. Carl Springer, with his wife, Maria. Carolus Springer, with his wife, Marget. Peter Classon, with his wife, Walborg. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Samuel Petersson, with his wife, Kerstin. John Seeds' wife, Brita.

NOVEMBER 13. Valent.[ine] Cock's widow, Elizabeth. Peter Pålson from Fernhook, with his wife, Catharina. Mårten Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin. Mårten Gustafson, with his wife, Brita. Gustaf Gustafson, with his wife, Kerstin. Måns Gustafson, with his wife, Catharina. Jesper Walraven, with his wife, Annika. Brewr Seneca, with his wife, Brita. Jonas Wal-

³⁵ Cf. deed from William "Cox," of New Castle Town upon Delaware, and Amy, his wife, on Jan. 4, 1734 (1734/5), each one signing with a mark. (New Castle County Deeds, Book K-1, p. 297.)

The baptism of Reigner Vanderculen, son of Wiljam and Emy Cock, on May 4, 1726 (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 172), with another son given the name Reigner after the first had died (*ibid.*, p. 186; *Delaware History*, V, 189), is strong evidence that Amy Cock was a daughter of Reigner, or Reynier, and Margaret Vanderculen, of New Castle. (Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book A-1, p. 155; New Castle County Wills, Book Miscellaneous 1, p. 471; *Delaware History*, V, 191, n. 14.)

On May 26, 1713, "Amie Van der Coolen" signed (with her mark) a receipt for her share of her father's estate (New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 177).

raven's widow, Annika. Jonas Jonasson Walraven. Walraven Walraven, with his wife, Kerstin. Edv-[ard] Robbesson's wife, Elizabeth. Maria Braun. Anders Loinan, with his wife, Brita. Jo.[hannes] Månsson's widow, Ingebohr. Conratt Constantine. Augustine Constantine. Jacobus Hein, with his wife, Kerstin. Jacob Stille, with his wife, Rebecca. Olle Månsson, with his wife, Annika. Old Peter Månsson's widow, Karin. Jacob Wandever, with his wife, Maria. Wiljam Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, Maria.

- DECEMBER 4. The pastor, Mag.[ister] Sam.[uel] Hesselius', wife, Brita. Mr. Carl Springer, with his wife, Maria. Johannes Springer. Carolus Springer, with his wife, Marget. John Hindricsson, with his wife, Brita. Philip Wandever, with his wife, Elizabeth. Jonas Jespersson Walraven, with his wife, Catharina. Peter Classon, with his wife, Walborg. Anton Ja Qvat's [Jaquett's] wife, Catharina. Peter Pålsson's wife, Geizie, in her illness.
5. Lucas Stedham, Senior, in his hour of death.
20. Brita Jeans, in her illness.³⁶
20. Hindrich Snecker, in his illness.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

³⁶ Brita and Mary, the two daughters of John "Jeans, Janes" (Jeanes), of Penn's Neck, Salem County, New Jersey, are named in a footnote to the inventory of John's personal estate on Dec. 1, 1712 (New Jersey Archives, First Series, XXIII: *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, 1670-1730*, 257). Salem County deed records refer to John as a brother of Nathaniel Jeanes, son of Henry Jeanes (*ibid.*, XXI: *Calendar of New Jersey Records, 1664-1703*, 638).

In his will, dated Feb. 4, 1709/10 (New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 203), Clement Clementson, son of Jacob and Brita Clementson (cf. *Delaware History*, V, 272, n. 5), makes a provisional bequest of real estate to John Jeanes' "two girls" in the event of the death of John Clementson, son of the testator's brother Henry. In a deed dated Nov. 16, 1698 (New Castle County Deeds, Book B-1, p. 194) land in New Castle County is conveyed to John Clementson of "Verdretigh hook," perhaps the one named above, by "Nathaniell Janes" (his signature) of the Province of West New Jersey.

Records of the Swedish church at Penn's Neck (the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania has photostat copies of the manuscript records which are more fully indexed than the published records; cf. *Delaware History*, V, 275, n. 14) contain numerous early references to "Henric Geens," a nephew of John Jeanes. The same spelling is found in Holy Trinity records (Second Book, p. 73) on June 17, 1717, when "Mary Geens, 9 years old," is listed as a student in Mr. Giöding's school.

On Apr. 19, 1727 (Second Book, p. 183), Mary "Jeans" married Charles Empson.

News Notes and Book Reports

IN THE DAYS when most Americans were either farmers or indirectly lived from the land, the almanac formed the yearly schedule of activities and offered the closest approach then to what is now termed scientific agriculture. Its significance for western culture is apparent from those copies of the late Renaissance to be found in the Staatsarchiv in Vienna, for example, and, in the English colonies, from the first pieces of printing, which were the "Freeman's Oath" and an almanac, both published in 1639.

Early Delaware examples compose one of the interesting collections in the library of the Historical Society. The woodcuts on the following pages, entitled "The Husbandman's Year," illustrate the months of 1824 in an almanac, now without cover and title, but which was owned by a Delawarean. The drawing for January depicts farmers who are breaking flax in the wintry weather, and so did the owner of this almanac, for on the flyleaf it is recorded that John Ferguson finished breaking the flax on January 24, making one half bushel in four and one-half days, and on January 29 it was scutched, that is, the woody portion was separated from the textile fiber for the weaving of linen thread. A hatchel, or a toothed instrument for separating the flax, is among the tools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on exhibit in the museum of the Society.

The earliest copy in the collection, which dates from the time when Delaware composed the Three Lower Counties of Pennsylvania, is *The Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack for the Year of Our Lord, 1757, being the first after Leap-Year Containing almost every Thing Usual in Almanacks*, by John Sobler, Germantown, printed and sold by C[hristopher] Sower, Jr., and illustrated by primitive woodcuts. The information offered by the almanacs included the phases of the moon, church days, weather forecasts, the places of the planets, dates of fairs, and in later publications, the place and dates of the sittings of federal and state courts, as well as occasional epigrams, proverbs, and short moral lessons. One such guide for the year 1780 was printed and sold by one Wilmington printer, James Adams, to another, Vincent Bonsal. Franklin's famous work had an emulator in *Poor Will's Pocket Almanack* (1828), which is bound in a bright paper cover with a geometric design of black, white, red, and yellow. An exhibit of some of the almanacs from the Society's collection was on display during this past winter.

A maritime exhibition featuring the ships of sail and steam in the nineteenth century was presented by the Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts from January 7 through February 6. The display showed the transition from sailing packets, war vessels, and the clippers, the best known and loved examples of American nautical genius, to the side-wheelers and screw propelled steam vessels. Along with a general survey of the American marine, there were paintings, prints, and models of crafts, built in Delaware or named after Delaware persons or places. These included several ships bearing the name "Delaware"; the "Wasp," commanded by Captain Jacob Jones, of Smyrna; the "Brandywine"; the "Bangor," the first sea-going iron-propeller steamer constructed in the United States; the "General Whitney"; the "Richard Stockton," an early iron-hull river steamboat (the last three built by Harlan and Hollingsworth, of Wilmington); the "Wabash," the flagship of Admiral S. F. duPont, and other memorabilia of the admiral; the "Com. duPont," and the "Carolina Hall," of Frederica, Delaware. Other views included the victories of the War of 1812 by Captain Jones over the "Frolic" and by Macdonough on Lake Champlain; broadsides of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, steamboats for Philadelphia via the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad, and the Hemphill ship-ping in 1792; the Cape Henlopen lighthouse; and drawings of the great days of the whalers when Wilmington was a part of that industry. Oils, water colors, and a collection of export porcelain and commemorative china and silver lent color and variety to the exhibition. Some of the portraits, drawings, engravings and broadsides were lent by the Historical Society.

The restoration of the Court House in New Castle, the colonial capital of the state, was proposed in Dover, November 30, during an organizational meeting of interested persons who wish to preserve this pre-eminent landmark of Delaware. A more complete history of the building, the property of the state, is now available from the research of Miss Jeannette Eckman, an authority on old New Castle and the editor of the guides to the state and the town. On the site of the present center unit, a court house was built around 1689, composed evidently of a jail and a court room. The identification of this earlier building disposes of the tradition that William Penn in 1682 took possession of his Pennsylvania province and the Three Lower Counties in one section of the present Court House. Instead, Penn received his turf and twig—his feudal symbols of possession—in another building closer to the present site of the Immanuel Episcopal Church. Around 1729 the jail was set on fire by an arsonist, who was thereupon condemned to death, and a new court house soon after erected, for by 1732 the Penn and Baltimore commissioners met in the assembly room to confer on the boundary dispute. In 1750 this commission fixed the cupola as the



JANUARY



FEBRUARY



MARCH



APRIL



MAY



JUNE



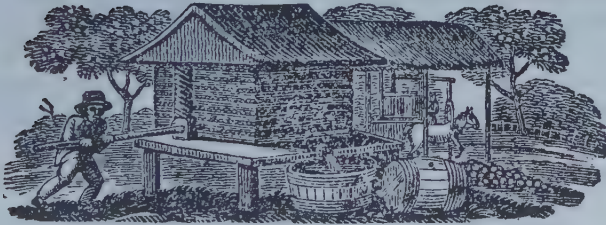
JULY



AUGUST



SEPTEMBER



OCTOBER



NOVEMBER



DECEMBER

center of the 12-mile circle to determine the Pennsylvania-Delaware boundary, thus giving the building its most picturesque significance. Though the building has had many changes, its present outline appeared with the addition of wings around 1765. There, during the Revolutionary period, various groups of Delaware representatives organized committees of Public Safety, approved the Declaration of Independence, drafted the first state constitution, and elected the first president of Delaware. After the state capital was moved to Dover in 1777, the building continued to be used as a state and federal court house and as the county seat of New Castle County until 1883. Architectural studies by the firms, Pope and Kruse, of Wilmington, and Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, of Boston, have added materially to the information concerning the history of the building, of which much was published in the June, 1951, issue of this magazine in an article on New Castle architecture, by Mr. Albert Kruse.

The wide variety of bright blues and golds or yellows which have been used in the past to represent the colors of the Delaware state flag have been quite confusing to those who wish to display an authentic banner. Since the flag was officially adopted in 1913, the first official efforts toward standardization of the Delaware colors began in 1954. From the Delaware flag which has the state coat of arms on a buff diamond insignia and a blue field and is in the State Archives, in Dover, some samples of the original colors, hidden within the hem, were made by the Wilmington firm, Joseph Bancroft & Sons, Inc. The state colors are a medium-to-powder blue, similar to the cover of *Delaware History*, and colonial buff. Hereafter, to insure accuracy of hue, one may refer to the Textile Color Card Association of the U. S., Inc., for the proper registry number of the Delaware colors.

NEW PUBLICATIONS OF DELAWARE INTEREST

The opening months of 1955 witnessed the publication of one of the great books of Delaware history. The sixth in the University of Delaware's Monograph Series, it is entitled *Federalist Delaware 1775-1815*, by Dr. John A. Munroe, published by Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Within the limits of two hundred and eighty-six pages, including an adequate index, a helpful appendix listing presidents or governors of Delaware and members of Congress, and a comprehensive bibliography, Dr. Munroe has supplied what the publisher calls, "the first full-fledged story of Delaware from the Revolution through the War of 1812."

Working with original manuscripts, contemporary accounts, official reports, and well chosen secondary sources, the author has, through careful research and skillful writing, presented an informative and compre-

hensive history, which is, withal, interesting reading. The period of Delaware history covered by this volume has been divided into three logical parts entitled: "The Three Lower Counties Become the Delaware State," "Post-Revolutionary Patterns," and "The Old Order Triumphant." In the first of these divisions, Dr. Munroe goes far back of his 1775 date to show the evolution of the Delaware counties, the origin of their separate General Assembly, the development of such social and economic aspects as: towns, farms, roads, mills, currency, churches, schools, and the causes leading up to the Revolution. In the same part of the book the author narrates the impact of the Revolution, the system of government under the Articles of Confederation, the rise of the political factions, and the events leading to the ratification of the Federal Constitution on December 7, 1787, whereby Delaware became the first state to enter the Union.

The second part of the volume is a careful correlation of practically all available sources to portray the rapid recovery experienced in Delaware following the Revolution. The author shows the rise of the manufacturing and commercial economy of Wilmington and New Castle County as opposed to the agrarian society of Kent and Sussex counties, the increases in population, the status of slavery, the readjustment of religious groups, the development of education and cultural patterns, and the struggles for political power.

Part Three, describing the rise and development of the political parties in Delaware during the Federal period, is Dr. Munroe's chief contribution to the State's historical literature. The carefully documented description of the evolution of political parties in Delaware and their functioning has never been undertaken before. To understand this aspect of Delaware life is at least the primary step in the interpretation of present-day local governmental structures and legislative processes.

—Review by LEON DEVALINGER, JR., State Archivist

Two recently published and provocative studies of pre-Revolutionary Chesapeake society, which, defined by the limits of the Fry and Jefferson map of 1751, would certainly include the southern portions of Delaware, investigate some of the commonly held traditions of this area; the two works are even more interesting when compared. The first, by Carl Bridenbaugh, was published as *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South*, by the Louisiana State University Press, in 1952 (208 pp.). The rural Chesapeake society, produced by its geography and economy and buttressed by the traditions of its yeoman stock, was in reality stratified, Dr. Bridenbaugh demonstrates, despite the "myth" of its being socially mobile. This was true in spite of the fact that the dominant families had primarily middle class origins; in Maryland, for example, between one third and one half of the white immigrants

before the Revolution were indentured servants. Wealth, the passport to the entrance of that society, could be amassed by wheat growing, shipbuilding, or trade, but quickest of all, by land speculation. Examples of Delawareans who frequently appear as landholders in the Maryland provincial archives support Dr. Bridenbaugh's conclusion of the bond between status and land ownership. The extent of intermarriage in this section made the degree of kinship a vital matter, and hence encouraged genealogical interest. Isolated existence along the river highways clouded every relationship. The Historical Society, for example, has in its manuscript collections allusions to the reactions of Mrs. John Dickinson, who unhappily anticipated a return to the lonely Kent manor after her enjoyment of a gay social life in Philadelphia.

The primary "myth" relating to the Chesapeake society which the author wishes to supersede by reality is the development of an intellectual and artistic culture, rivaling that of any other colonial section. In truth, he says, the area was governed by the rural landholders, who led an active hospitable and political life, but not a cultured one. Their system did not give leisure to the masters; the proper conduct of a patriarchal domain demanded more than their working hours permitted. This "Variety of Cares" rarely allowed the planter to be a reader and circumscribed the educational achievements of the area. While the rural retreat did encourage one literary field, letter writing, the standard reading matter was the utilitarian newspaper, and recreation itself came to be a means to the same end—the well-being of the plantation. The arts were certainly not absent, but the love of luxury and display which built and furnished the mansion houses along the river inlets made their owners patrons, not practitioners, of the arts. On the basis of Bridenbaugh's conclusions, one sees the happy combination of the prevailing literary form and Dickinson's political interests in his first work, the *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer*. Moreover, Bridenbaugh's strictures are against the heavily burdened resident planter, and not the absentee, which characterized Dickinson for much of his active literary life.

Although the author has re-evaluated the culture of Chesapeake society, in conclusion he comforts his readers with a traditional view not investigated in this study by his keen and critical eye. He reassures us that this lack of culture was involved in a good end: the leading planters composed a responsible group which, if they ruled in their own interests, had a knowledge of the needs of their agricultural community and a sense of duty of service to the state. This latter traditional generalization is the point for study in the second work under review: *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland*, by Donnell MacClure Owings, published by the Maryland Historical Society as No. 1 in the Studies in Maryland History (Baltimore, 1953; 214 pp.). For research in the entwined study of Delaware and Maryland

history, this study presents various contributions: a bibliography of published records and contemporary manuscripts, a chronology of events in English and Maryland history pertaining to the government of the colony, and a civil list of all important lucrative offices, except that of sheriff, whose location for research is given. All officers related to the proprietary family are so labeled to explain the social meaning of those offices.

The term, offices of profit, meant in the colonies any office which was worth a gentleman's acceptance, but if its chief attractions conferred only position, it was a place of honor, not profit. Such civil offices, without financial reward, were actually difficult to fill. "Few men," said Governor Calvert in 1729, "Care for an Empty Honour attended with trouble without some recompense." Normally, an office holder expected to give as little time as possible to his public employment; some were sinecures, others were made so by the use of a deputy. Owings believes this system permitted a few to improve their leisure and to create an easy and graceful cultural maturity. However, this generalization is outside his field of study and comes under Bridenbaugh's scrutiny as one of his "myths."

On the basis of the two works there rises a view of Chesapeake society, middle class in origin, aristocratic in tendency, drawing its wealth from land ownership and the rewards of a monopoly of governmental offices, and dominating the provincial legislatures. Hospitable and politically active, this rural gentry was too involved in the cares of plantation ownership and management to participate in the arts, although its wealth was used to patronize and thus foster them.

Another history of the colonial South referring to Delaware is *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689*, by Wesley Frank Craven, published in 1949 by the Louisiana State University Press (451 pp.), as Vol. I in *A History of the South*, edited by W. H. Stephenson and E. M. Coulter. The presence, says Craven, of the Dutch on the Delaware in 1631, though short-lived, threatened England's interest in the Chesapeake area, and the Dutch traders who frequently bargained in the Virginia ports for tobacco in the 1630s lent importance to the upper Chesapeake and Delaware Bay. The author suggests that the location of the Maryland grant on the Chesapeake, rather than to the south of Virginia, as Lord Baltimore had requested, was the result of the influence of the developing commercial rivalry between England and Holland which was exemplified by the Delaware settlement.

Flour that was exported shortly after 1700 from the Three Lower Counties and Pennsylvania and marked "Philadelphia superfine" flour was a standard of quality for the markets of southern Europe, the West Indies, and the American coast. While many factors contributed to

this dominant position in the markets, such as superior agricultural and milling practices, New York competitors credited this superiority to "nothing but the Regulation and Provision, made in that Province," states Arthur L. Jensen in his study of "The Inspection of Exports in Colonial Pennsylvania," published in the July, 1954, issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 275-97). The first inspection act in Pennsylvania was an omnibus bill, passed in 1700, which required that beef and pork for export were to be inspected, and bread and flour were to be marked with the brand of the miller, bolter, or baker. An elaborate framework of inspection laws was erected and so actively enforced that by the 1760s and early 1770s, during a period of economic stagnation, many complaints were directed to Levi Hollingsworth, a flour factor, that the inspection was too rigorous. James Partridge, a shallop owner and storekeeper at Christiana Bridge, reported in 1769-70 that his neighbors wondered why so much of their flour was being condemned, and the millers were refusing to grind any more wheat since they were convinced the flour would not pass inspection. It was not impossible to ship condemned or uninspected flour from the province, so Partridge suggested shipping such flour to North Carolina or to St. Kitts. Samuel Patterson, also of Christiana Bridge, wished to send fifty barrels to Dublin along with a cargo of flaxseed and added "perhaps you can get it in slyly." Patterson's irritation was sharp in 1771-72: "I am apprehensive your good Inspector looks too much at the Planets . . . expecting . . . the Flour should be bright as the stars. . . . I wish him no harm but that he was a Miller oblig'd to give 7/6 p bu for wheat . . . and have all his Flour Condem'd." Another sorely tried miller, William Logan, of Christiana, tested Hollingsworth with "Doe Me all the favour towards the passing of My flour that posable you Can sir and if the Inspecker will Rec a Compliment of a baral of flour Let him have one of the first of Min Brand EM."

Only one copy of the original edition of the Chart of Delaware Bay (Philadelphia, 1756) by Joshua Fisher is known to exist, pointed out Lawrence C. Wroth in his "Some American Contributions to the Art of Navigation, 1519-1802," published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1944-1947* (Boston, 1952), pp. 72-113. A record of sailing directions to accompany the first edition does not seem to exist, but in 1776 when the chart was re-engraved in London there was published a guide, *Directions for Navigating up Delaware-Bay, from the Capes to Reedy-Island*, by Capt. James Campbell, late Commander in his Majesty's Navy. The Historical Society has a copy of the Fisher chart, engraved by William Faden, Charing Cross, which contains "a full & exact description of the Shores, Creeks, Harbours, Soundings, Shoals, Sands and Bearings of the most considerable Land Marks, from

the Capes to Philadelphia." The subscribers to the chart composed a list of twenty-two pilots and twenty-two masters of vessels, among them, Nehemiah Field, Abraham Wiltbank, Samuel, Samuel, Jr., and William Rowland, Andrew Higgons, and William Painter.

"When It is that Colonies May Turn Independent" was one of the questions that Francis Alison, the founder of the New London (later Newark) Academy, examined in 1759-60 for his classes of moral philosophy in the College of Philadelphia. Alison was one of the great majority of ministers and teachers of the Scottish and Irish Presbyterians in the Middle Colonies who had been trained at Glasgow University. Here he had been a student of Francis Hutcheson whose philosophical ideas were echoed twenty-five years later in the political documents of the American colonies in revolt. It was to Hutcheson that Alison appealed for aid and who gave advice in April, 1746, about education and promised books for the fledgling institution which eventually became the University of Delaware. Student notebooks of 1759-60 show that Alison was dictating to his classes passages of Hutcheson's works, including those on "Oeconomicks and Polity." Unlike many of his contemporaries, Hutcheson offered his students some guidance for their conduct as citizens; he is well known for his maxim, "that Action is best, which procures the great Happiness for the great Numbers; and that worst, which in like manner, occasions Misery." Citizens, he said, may oppose governors whose actions run counter to their welfare, and in his defense of liberty and human dignity, he taught that the standard of moral goodness is the promotion of the general happiness. As an economic corollary, he believed that democracy could not exist without a wide distribution of wealth among its members. An analysis by Caroline Robbins of the environment and politics of Hutcheson (1694-1746) was published in the April, 1954, issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly* (Vol. XI, pp. 214-51).

The weaker religious sects in colonial America, which also contributed to national political theory, are at present being given a more adequate treatment by American historians. That the Baptists rallied to the cause of resistance to the British government and were influential in having a clause defending the free exercise of religion inserted in the Bills of Rights of the new state constitutions is presented in Lyman H. Butterfield's study of "Elder John Leland, Jeffersonian Itinerant," in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for 1952 (Vol. LXII, Part 2, pp. 155-242). The first proposition is supported by Miss Waterston in her *Churches of Delaware* (Publications of the Historical Society, 1925), but the role of the Baptists in the formulation of the Delaware Bill of Rights has not yet been investigated.

In 1774 when Elder Leland was converted to the Baptist faith, the

sect was generally considered to be a set of ignorant enthusiasts, and their petitions to legislatures were ignored. His influence was toward rational piety, rather than toward "enthusiasm," and during his 67-year career as an evangelist up and down the Atlantic coast, he fought to remove religious disabilities from all persons, whether of any or no faith. When he died, the battle for religious freedom, as he saw it—the separation of church and state—was largely won. The presence of a variety of beliefs actually benefited society, he was convinced, thus drawing this flower of comfort from the thorny discord of the various religious sects in the colonies and later new states.

The Delaware Declaration of Rights of 1776, as has been pointed out by Dr. H. Clay Reed in his study of the first state constitution, prohibited governmental support of any religious establishment and assured freedom of conscience: "That all Men have a natural and unalienable [*sic*] Right to worship Almighty God according to the Dictates of their own Consciences and Understandings," but it guaranteed "equal Rights and Privileges in this State" only to "persons professing the Christian Religion." The Quaker colonies, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, disestablished the Anglican Church in 1776, and the Delaware constitution of 1792 expanded the earlier guarantees of religious freedom. To the former "free exercise of religious worship" and no "preference be given by law to any religious societies," was added the requirement that "No religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust."

Soon after the opening of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, Benjamin L. C. Wailes, a cotton planter from Mississippi, accompanied by his family, toured and kept a diary of his travels along the eastern coast. Selections of his journal for 1829 describe their passage through the canal and the Delaware scene. In Baltimore, the Wailes family, on board the Philadelphia steamboat, entered the canal, which had "four locks & several Bridges made to turn out of the way of the Canal Barge. . . . At the Sumit level there is a fine bridge 70 feet above the water, spanning the whole extent of the Cut, which must be at least 150 feet (of frame, covered & neatly painted). It springs from the Rock abutments & has no arch. Near the Sumit level there have been large slides or slips of the Bank of the Canal owing to the springs & marshy nature of the ground. These have been overcome by thatching the Banks with Coarse Straw or Grass." At Delaware City they embarked on the "William Penn," "perhaps the most splendid & best arranged Boat in America. A number of Ships, Briggs & smaller craft were seen plying up & in the Bay, & gave great interest to a most charming scene." Extracts from the journal have been edited by John H. Moore and published as "A View of Philadelphia in 1829," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (July, 1954: Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 353-60).